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THE
LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW.

JULY, 1901.

THE NUMERICAL RELATIONS OF
NATURE.

1. *The Principle of Number : The Origin of Floral Structures.* By Rev. GEORGE HENSLOW. (London : Kegan Paul, Trench, & Co.)
2. *Leaf Arrangement : Structural Botany.* By Professor ASA GRAY. (London : Macmillan & Co.)
3. *Typical Forms and Special Ends in Creation.* By MCCOSH and DICKIE. (London : Macmillan & Co.)
4. *Number : A Link between Divine and Human Intelligence.* By Rev. C. GIRDLESTONE. (London : Longmans, Green, & Co.)

MAN has been described as a reasoning, laughing, cooking, and worshipping animal. Anyone of these characteristics distinguishes him from all other animals. But the pre-eminent power in which he stands supreme is that of

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numbering. The mathematical faculty in its application not only to the problems of our globe, but especially to the grandest facts of regions that soar far beyond the world's horizon, is a peculiar possession of the human race, and distinguishes in its higher forms only its most advanced members. Darwin found it extremely difficult to account for it, regarding it as the latest and noblest product of evolution. The power of discerning the numerical relations of nature and their full significance seems, indeed, to be more an endowment than a development. We cannot trace its origin and growth to lower powers of nature, rising gradually to man, and in him to this lofty level of subtlety and refinement. It seems a direct gift of the all-wise Creator, and is a striking proof of the essential spirituality of human nature. It is an inborn faculty or genius, derived from the Father of our spirits, given to the human family and to the human family alone of all God's creatures here below; a trait of family resemblance ineffaceable, answering however faintly in most, and imperfectly in all, to the same faculty in God Himself, as the impression in wax answers to the seal that made it.

Number is the means of expressing weight and measure, and is therefore the chief means of scientific investigation. As connected with the balance it concerns us most intimately in our daily business; and from the physical meaning of the term we easily pass to the moral meaning, for iniquity is just *in equity*, a disturbed equilibrium. The science of number was originally considered sacred. It was felt to belong specially to God's method of working. He weighs and measures and numbers with an infinite exactness. Himself the centre of gravity of the universe, "the infinitesimal vibration of an atom is as perceptible to Him as the libration of a star." It is said that the science of geometry originated from the construction of primitive sacrificial altars according to fixed rules. Of whatever shape an altar might be, its area had always to be a fixed quantity. Thus the science of geometry had a sacred origin, and the measurements of the altars of the

gods came afterwards to be applied to the measurements of the earth's area and objects. Arithmetic was also applied to the construction of a temple ; for the steps leading up to the door were made of an uneven number, in order that the worshipper might mount them, in such regular succession, that he could enter the sacred enclosure with the right foot foremost in the appropriate reverential attitude. An arithmetical arrangement of steps that would lead to his entering the temple with his left foot foremost was considered sacrilege, which would certainly draw down upon the guilty party the vengeance of the god. The Jewish unit of value was a sacred standard, and was kept by the priests in the sanctuary for reference. Justinian ordered that the standards of weight should be kept in Christian churches. In Westminster Abbey is the chamber called the Treasury of England, where the pyx or standard of our coinage is kept under the shadow of religion. And the Tron churches of Scotland, in their name, retain the memory of a time when the standards of measurement and weight were kept in their custody, and were considered eminently sacred things, which should be religiously maintained in absolute integrity, as representing the dearest interests of society, because serving as the medium of human exchanges and the basis of daily bread.

Among the Jews very specially numbers had a sacred meaning. The number three represented Godhead ; the number four, creation, the combination of the two, God and His works, the creation and the Creator ; the number seven represented the number of perfection, the union of the number of creation and the number of the Godhead. Ten as a preferential number is exemplified in the ten commandments and in the law of tithe ; and twelve, being three multiplied by four, appears in the twelve tribes, twelve stones in the high-priest's breastplate, twelve apostles, twelve foundation stones, twelve gates, twelve thousand furlongs of the heavenly city, and twelve times twelve thousand, *viz.* 144,000, being the number of its sealed inhabitants. The number forty appears in the sojourn of the Israelites in

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the wilderness, and in the forty days of our Lord's temptation. Seventy, as compounded of seven multiplied ten times, occurs frequently, as in the offerings, the elders, the years of the Captivity. Certain numbers became representative numbers because of the strong prejudice which eastern people had against counting their possessions accurately. A native of the East will not tell you the exact number of his children ; he says he has three or four, because these are representative numbers, whereas in reality he has five or six. He is afraid that if he numbers his children definitely, if he tells the exact number of them, some evil will befall them. We have a remarkable instance of this baleful association in the punishment that followed the census of Israel taken by David, and in the fate that happened to the sacred vessels of the temple, when Hezekiah showed them to the ambassadors from Babylon, and numbered his wealth and grandeur in this way,—how these vessels were carried away with the captivity and adorned the heathen temples of the conqueror. In Scotland there is a survival of the same curious feeling, in the custom of the father of a child who is to be baptized handing to the officiating minister a slip of paper with the name of the child written on it instead of loudly proclaiming its name with his lips. The name is a secret till all risk of evil is taken away by the minister pronouncing it for the first time, and so imparting to it a hallowed spell.

God showed to Moses on the holy mount the pattern of the tabernacle in the wilderness, according to which every object was constructed with the utmost exactness of detail. The dimensions of the altars of burnt offering and incense and of the ark and the mercy-seat were arranged upon precise numerical principles. It was imperative that the altars should be four-square, so picturing the completeness and fulness of the work effected thereon, whether of sacrifice or incense ; the same perfect measure and estimate being thus presented every way, whether towards God or towards man. The ark was to be two cubits and a half long, a cubit and a half broad, and a cubit and a half high ;

and the mercy-seat, which was the lid of the ark, so that both together formed one vessel of the sanctuary, was two and a half cubits long, and a cubit and a half broad, in order to exactly cover the ark and hide its contents from view. The altar of incense was two cubits in height, thus being half a cubit higher than the ark. It stood above the other measured vessels of the sanctuary, and took the lead in the tabernacle. Its summit rose more to a level with the dwelling-place of God between the cherubim above the mercy-seat; and from it was wafted the fragrant cloud under whose perfumed shelter the high-priest ministered. The brazen altar of burnt offering that stood at the door of the tabernacle, on which was offered the preliminary sacrifice that entitled and qualified the worshipper to enter the tabernacle and take part in its holy services, was five cubits long, and five cubits broad, and three cubits high. It was ordained to be of such dimensions as to be capable of including all the other vessels of the sanctuary within it, and to be exactly twice the size of the ark. These numerical relations were intended to foreshadow, first, that every priestly ministration was involved in or connected with the great atoning offering on the sacrificial altar at the door of the tabernacle, as every vessel of the tabernacle was smaller than and could be contained or included in the altar of burnt offering; and, secondly, that intercourse with God is a result from the fact of sacrifice, and is closely connected with it, as the size of the ark is dependent upon the size of the altar.

We have thus in the construction of the most important vessels of the sanctuary, and indeed in the construction of every part of the tabernacle, a law of strict numerical relations, the reason and meaning of which we can to a large extent understand. We cannot perhaps interpret the typical import of the numbers five and three employed in the measurement of the altar of burnt offering, or the typical import of the numbers two and a half and one and a half in the case of the ark, or the typical import of the numbers two and one in the case of the altar of incense. We cannot

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tell why the separate vessels should be of these exact dimensions and no other, why the ark was two and a half cubits long instead of an even number. But we know that there must have been a perfectly satisfactory reason in the nature of things. For we seem to see an adequate reason for the dimensions of the altar of burnt offering being so large as to be capable of including all the other vessels whose ministrations depended upon it; and we seem to see a satisfactory reason why the altar of incense should be higher than the ark. And we can understand why all the altars described in Scripture should be four-square, their length and breadth being equal; for a square is a compact, even-sided figure, and seems to have been specially selected for the form of these altars, in order to represent the fulness and completeness of the work effected thereon. We can, to a certain extent at least, comprehend the significance of the relations of the different vessels of the tabernacle to each other, and therefore the significance of their relative numerical dimensions; and all these considerations impress upon our minds the conviction that He who showed the pattern of the tabernacle to Moses on the mount, and gave the most minute instructions as to the proportional construction of its individual parts, must have been a God of order and mathematical method. Everything in the tabernacle was made not by chance, but according to scale; not aimlessly, but for a special purpose; not in insignificance, but in the fullest significance.

We have a continuance of this sacred association in the construction of our old Gothic cathedrals, which were arranged on numerical principles. Indeed, numerical principle may be said to be the very essence of ancient Gothic art. It was applied not only to the general features of a building, but also to all its details and ornaments. And it was this that made the Gothic a style of Christian art, the most religious, and at the same time the most beautiful the world has ever known. The mystical numbers which have exercised most influence in the development of Gothic art are one, three, five, seven, and twelve; the numbers five

and three in particular, three signifying the Trinity, five signifying sacrifice, seven grace, and twelve the incarnation. These mystical numbers therefore symbolise doctrines, the five fundamental doctrines of the Catholic faith. We see these numerical principles of Christian art thoroughly worked out in the design of St. Sophia at Constantinople, which is considered the most perfect and most beautiful church erected by any Christian people. We see the one great central dome, the fine apsidal terminations to the main body of the church, the noble arcades of five arches on each side of the great central dome, with other arcades of seven arches, each immediately over, the three windows to the central or eastern apsidal termination, with three more immediately over, and five lights over them in the semi-dome of the apse. All these numerical arrangements show to us how this great Christian church was built up as it were of the fundamental doctrines of the Catholic faith. In St. Peter's in Rome, in which, according to the popular saying, "the heart goes up to God," and in St. Mark's in Venice, in which, according to the same proverbial saying, "God comes down to the heart," the same significant numerical relations may be seen. In those days, when Christianity and art walked hand in hand, the very architecture of the house of God reminded the worshippers of their creed, and, as Coleridge has beautifully expressed it, a Gothic church was the "petrification of the Christian religion." The Holy Scriptures themselves have come under this law of numbers, being divided into chapters and verses, so as to make them easier of reference and remembrance. And by these numbered steps, as it were, the youngest and most ignorant person can ascend on the mount of Vision to the heights of Revelation, to the very throne of God.

We believe that this great world of nature above and around us is God's tabernacle, a vast tabernacle, with the same symbols and types as in the tabernacle of the Israelites, only darker and more mysterious, and covered with a denser veil; and therefore we may expect to find in it the same oneness of design and harmony of all parts that we discover

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in the Jewish tent. And this is what we do actually find. We find in it the same law of numerical relations; and therefore the conclusion is irresistible that Nature and Revelation have one Author. We are justified in attributing the same origin to the Word and to the works; and we are impressively taught that the way of the Lord is perfect, whether expressed through the one medium or the other. The universal truth which nature proclaims everywhere is that God is the great Arithmetician. He counts everything that He has made. He makes up all things in fixed numbers. Everywhere throughout nature we see the significance and importance of numbers. Beginning with the stones of the field, we have been long familiar with the exact numerical relations of the mineral kingdom. Such relations form the rule upon which the mineral kingdom throughout all its parts is based. The grandest discovery of modern chemistry, ever associated with the name of Dalton, is that chemical substances will only combine in certain numerical proportions. You cannot unite the chemical elements of nature to form a compound body by chance, or in any proportion you please. The proportion in which they unite in each case is determined by an unvarying law; and the elements are weighed out by Nature in her delicate scales with a nicety which no art can attain. Thus for example, if you mix 23 ounces of sodium with 35.5 ounces of chlorine, you will obtain common salt. But if you add .5 of sodium to the same quantity of chlorine, Nature will not mix it, but quietly put the extra quantity of sodium aside, and the rest will all unite. This law, which governs all chemical mixtures, is called the law of definite proportions. Oxygen always enters into combination with other bodies by the number 16, carbon by the number 12, and iron by the number 56. Monsieur Dumas, the great chemist, on account of the remarkable relations between the numbers representing the atomic weights of the elements, was induced to place certain of them in groups, each consisting of three numbers, and to conjecture that one of each triad might be a compound of the other two. It is even probable that all

elementary bodies are exact multiples of hydrogen. The discovery of the great law of atomic weights and volumes has enabled the chemist to express his ideas by algebraic symbols. Thus the letter O stands for sixteen parts of oxygen ; and multiples of such numbers, which often occur in combination, as twice or thrice sixteen parts, are sufficiently indicated by the formula O_2 or O_3 .

The science of crystallography, or the arrangement of solids bounded by plane figures, symmetrically disposed about certain straight lines called axes, is now regarded as almost a branch of pure mathematics ; and certainly no mathematician could determine the angles which the axes and planes in the different crystals, by a constant law, make with each other, with more accuracy than they are found to exist in nature. The refraction of light by each crystal distinctively, is also determined by Snell's well known numerical law. The beautiful colours of nature are produced by vibrations or waves of light, which have been counted, and are always exactly the same for the same colours. The number of waves required to produce the sensation of red as they break upon the eye must be 39,000 in an inch, and 447,000,000,000,000 in a second. The number of waves required to produce yellow must be 44,000 in an inch, and 535,000,000,000,000 in a second, and so on with all the colours. To enable you to see a red rose or a red ribbon, no less than 447,000,000,000,000 of ether waves must break upon your eye every second. Science has thus revealed to us the exact number of vibrations of light required to produce each colour in the rainbow. It has also revealed to us the exact number of vibrations of sound required to produce each note in the scale of harmony. Spectrum analysis, one of the most recent and remarkable developments of science, rests on a numerical foundation. And as it proves the identity of many chemical elements existing in the heavenly bodies with those which exist on our earth, it is a clear indication that the numerical law of definite proportion extends to the smallest particles of matter throughout the wide realms of space.

Astronomy is the grandest of the physical sciences. There are none in which the mind of man has achieved more remarkable triumphs, and there are none which yield such striking illustrations of our argument. The laws of astronomy necessarily involve certain properties of number which cannot but have been present in the Mind that planned the universe, and which are also clearly understood by man, and by him only of all creatures known to us. In regard to the universal force of gravitation, we know that every portion of matter gravitates towards every other portion with a force varying directly according to the amounts of their respective masses, and inversely as the squares of their distances from each other. The first part of the law seems obvious; but the second is unexpected. We should be inclined to suppose that the force of gravitation would decrease just in proportion as the distance is increased. But this is not so. The force of gravitation decreases not as the distance is increased, but in proportion to the square of the number expressing the distance. At twice the distance the force is not twice less, but four times; at thrice the distance the force is nine times less; at ten times the distance it is a hundred times less. Turning to Kepler's famous laws of planetary motion, this great astronomer found a numerical proportion to subsist between the length of time which it takes each planet to complete its yearly orbit, and its mean distance from the sun, which he expressed in his well known third law, "The squares of the periodic times vary as the cubes of the distances." Neptune's year is 62,000 days; that of Uranus, 31,000 days; that of Saturn, 10,000; that of Jupiter, 4,330; that of the Asteroids, 1,600; that of Mars, 680; that of the Earth, 365 days. These numbers form a series in which the second is one-half the first; the third, one-third of the second; the fourth, two-fifths of the third; the fifth, three-eighths of the fourth; and the sixth, five-thirteenths of the fifth; and so on. And this idea suggests the wider probability that all the orbs of heaven have similar numerical relations to each other. The precise calculations of eclipses, and their

visibility only in certain limited localities ; the reappearances of comets in periodic times ; the daily-recurring tides, and the announcement of exceptionally high tidal waves, are all based upon such numerical relations, and they have established the most complete general confidence in the conclusions and predictions of astronomers. The navigator pursues his lonely voyage over the ocean for months, and knows at every hour whereabouts he is ; and this knowledge is largely obtained by means of his nautical almanack, embodying the results of the most abstruse astronomical calculations.

But while the action of all the purely physical forces and the structure of all inert mineral forms can thus be rigidly demonstrated by the aid of the exact sciences, the objects of the organic world were formerly supposed to exhibit a freeness bounded by no laws. Trees and flowers were supposed to grow in wild carelessness, the sport of every influence, one branch or leaf or bud arising here, and another branch or leaf or bud appearing there, quite independently of order ; and while the specific peculiarities were observed, the details were left very much to be determined by chance. But a more enlightened knowledge has disclosed to us that there is as exact a geometry in the vegetable and animal kingdoms as in the mineral. They yield results which can be tested by mathematics, and represented by its formulæ as truly as purely physical forces. We see how all the parts of a plant are arranged in conformity with the abstract doctrine of form and structure which geometry and mechanics teach, and which the forms of all stable structures and of the heavenly bodies exemplify. Branches and foliage do not proceed casually and indiscriminately from any part of the stem or branch, but from fixed points, and have therefore a determinate arrangement. The buds appear in order, the leaves follow in regular sequence, the flowers are put forth not only at the appointed season, but at the appointed part of the plant ; not a leaf varies from its proper position, or a bud from its regular order, any more than a planet varies from its orbit.

We find that the leaves of a plant are spirally arranged around its stem in the same way that the planets of the solar system revolve around the sun ; such an arrangement giving to the leaves the freest expansion to air and light, and to the planets the fairest possible chance of revolving round the sun undisturbed by their neighbours. A curious series, in ancient times supposed to possess mystical virtues, *viz.* 1, 2, 3, 5, 8, 13, 21, 34, etc., in which any two numbers added together give the succeeding one, regulates the phyllotaxis or general arrangement of leaves round the stem of plants, and the scales round the cone of a pine-tree. The educated eye will detect in the scales of a pine-cone numerical relations of a most interesting kind. These relations have been reduced to mathematical precision and expressed by fractions, the numerator of which indicates the number of turns or coils which a spiral line describes around the cone, and the denominator the number of scales through which the spiral lines passes to complete its cycle. Thus, if the spiral cycle consists of two scales, the third being placed vertically over the first, while the spiral line makes but one turn between them, the arrangement is expressed by the fraction $\frac{1}{2}$; in other words, the distance in angular divergence between the first and second half, expressed in parts of a circle, is $\frac{1}{2}$ of a circle or 360° , *i.e.* 180° . If the spiral line by one coil passes through three scales, the fraction is $\frac{1}{3}$, and the angular divergence is 120° ; if by two coils it passes through five scales, the sixth being placed vertically over the first, the fraction is $\frac{2}{5}$ or 144° ; if by three coils it passes through eight scales, the fraction is $\frac{3}{8}$, and the angular divergence 135° ; if by five coils it passes through thirteen scales, the fraction is $\frac{5}{13}$; if by eight coils it passes through twenty-one scales, the fraction is $\frac{8}{21}$; if by thirteen coils it passes through thirty-four scales, the fraction is $\frac{13}{34}$, and so on. Writing down these fractions in succession, $\frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{3} \frac{2}{5} \frac{3}{8} \frac{5}{13} \frac{8}{21} \frac{13}{34}$, they will be seen at a glance to form a regularly ascending series, in which any two added together will make the third; while the numerator of one, and denominator of the preceding, gives the denominator of the

fraction whose numerator is employed. The phyllotaxian numbers thus always exhibit a series of three.

A pine-cone is only a model or type of similar arrangements which exist among all classes of plants, and among all the organs of plants. We find the same numerical arrangements regulating the scales of every bud, the order of the bracts, and the place of every leaf on every plant. The law of leaf-arrangement is wonderfully constant in every individual of a species, and often also in the species of a family. Although it is not available for purposes of classification, it is nevertheless found that different orders are characterised by different modifications of it. Cases of leaf-arrangement, represented by the fractions $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{3}$, and $\frac{2}{3}$, are the most common and the most easily seen. They are observed in plants whose stems have well developed internodes or intervals between their leaves. The $\frac{2}{3}$ arrangement occurs more commonly than any other disposition of leaves, and is found in the apple, pear, plum, rose, currant, and oak. When the internodes, however, are obliterated, and the leaves crowded together, as in the scales of cones, the higher numbers of the series, such as $\frac{5}{13}$, $\frac{8}{21}$, $\frac{13}{34}$, etc., represent the leaf-arrangements.

In the blossom of a flowering plant we find that each series or whorl, which is just a complete spiral cycle, is arranged as in the pine-cone on the principle of alternation, and that there is an evident symmetry as regards the number of the parts. Among the exogenous, or dicotyledonous plants, the numbers five and four and their multiples prevail; among the endogenous or monocotyledonous plants the numbers three and its multiples; while among flowerless plants the numbers two and four or their multiples. Thus, if a flower has five sepals or parts of the calyx, it has five petals of the corolla alternating with them, five, ten, or twenty stamens, and five or some multiple of five in the pistils. In a similar way arrangements of three or its multiples are seen in the flowers of endogens, such as palms and lilies; and in flowerless plants, such as mosses, lichens, seaweeds, and fungi, the parts of the fructification are in twos or fours, or in multiples of

these. We thus see how two or four and its multiples is the prevailing number in the lowest orders of plants, according to which all the parts of ferns, mosses, lichens, seaweeds, and fungi are arranged. Three or multiples of three is the typical number of endogenous plants, without branches and with parallel veins, to which the grass, the lily, and the palm belong. Five with its multiples is the model number of the highest class of plants, with two cotyledons, with branches and reticulated leaf-veins, to which the apple, rose, and oak belong. While, strange to say, in every moss the number of minute teeth which fringe the mouth of the seed-vessel, and open or close according to the state of the weather, is either four or some multiple of four. They are arranged in the series of 4, 8, 16, 32. No seed-vessel is ever found with an odd or intermediate number. In the vast majority of species, spread all over the world, the number of teeth is thirty-two. We have thus the same series in the arrangement of the flower-parts of plants which occurs in the arrangement of their leaves; and we see that all the parts of a plant, whether belonging to the nutritive or reproductive systems, are homotypes. Even in the case of the root or descending axis, which penetrates into an element widely different from that of the other parts, there is an approximation at first to the same numerical arrangement which we find in the ascending axis or stem. Rootlets or fibrils are at first arranged one over another in a certain determinate number of vertical ranks, generally either in two or in four, sometimes in three or in five series. But this primitive rhizotaxy or regularity of root-arrangement soon disappears as the plant grows, and the roots stretch out and encounter difficulties in the hard soil.

This numerical relation of the parts of plants can be traced far back to the ancient flora of the globe. We find in fossil botany illustrations as numerous and striking as in recent botany. Plants have been constructed on the same general plan from the beginning; and the same mathematical spirit which regulates the formation of a pine-cone in one of our own woods governed the formation

of the pine-cone of the oldest geological forest which we disinter from beneath hundreds of feet of solid rock. On the beautifully sculptured stems of extinct lepidodendrons, sigillarias, and cycads we trace the same crossing of winding spirals, the same rhomboidal figures produced by their intersection, and the same remarkable law of phyllotaxis which we observe in the pines and firs which fringe at the present day the skirts of the Alps or crown our own hills. The same divine thought is visible everywhere in geological distribution and in organic structure.

But not only do we find an exact law of number in trees and flowers, in stones and stars, we also see it among living creatures. We observe with ever fresh wonder how the bee in the formation of its honeycomb works out instinctively and unconsciously a high mathematical problem. There is a curious relation between the number of horns in animals and the number of toes or digits. If an animal has an odd number of toes, it has also an odd number of horns; if it has an even number of toes, it has also an even number of horns. So exact is the number of feathers in the wings and tails of birds that in above four hundred species of humming birds the numbers are found to be invariably the same. The noble framework of man himself, the lord of creation, is constructed upon similar numerical principles. In him the number five, or some multiple of five, constantly shows itself; and to this fact we owe our very arithmetic itself, which is generally admitted to have been based upon the number of our fingers. Man's organs, on account of their definite size, have been used from time immemorial as standards of measurement, as in the handbreadth, the foot, the cubit, the pace; and artists have long been familiar with the proportions that exist between the different parts of the human body. The height of a person is always eight times the size of his head, or equal to the line drawn from the finger-tips of the one hand to the finger-tips of the other when the arms are outstretched. The number of teeth which we possess is thirty-two; and, strange to say, that number is proportioned to the number of our fingers

and toes, which is twenty, and to the number of parts in the four limbs, fore-arm, arm and hand, thigh, foreleg, foot, which is twelve—making thirty-two in all. We are told, on the highest of all authority, that “the very hairs of our head are all numbered.” This is not an exaggerated way of speaking. It is a quiet and sober expression of the truth. There is an exactitude in it which we do not usually think of. We may be perfectly sure that the law of definite proportion regulates the quantity of our hair as it regulates the number of our teeth and fingers. Indeed, physiologists tell us that there is a very close relation between the hair and the teeth. They are the last things that are perfected in man; and, as we have seen, the teeth making up the number of thirty-two in the permanent set, so we may well believe that our hair is subject to the same law of number when it is fully produced. The hair of our head may seem the least important part of our substance, that which is more unstable than the rest, appearing and disappearing as if it did not belong essentially to our frame. But even this part of our structure which we can dispense with most easily, which is apparently confused, indefinite, capricious, is accurately counted. We see how the scales of a fish are numbered, and we can tell how many of them occupy a square inch of the fish’s body. The curious markings upon the scales that cover the body of the Podura insect are common tests of the excellence of a microscope. By the aid of the micrometer we can count how many thousands of these markings go to a line or the twelfth of an inch. All these objects are the equivalents of the hair of a man’s head; and if the scales of insects and the feathers of birds are all counted in this minute and exact fashion, can we say less than that the hairs of our head too are all numbered?

We may further state that the parallelism between the typical numbers of the animal and vegetable kingdoms is very remarkable. In the highest animals and plants the numbers five and three and their multiples prevail; in the lowest animals and plants the number four and its multiples

and sub-multiples. The relations between the numbers three and five are such that they give a difference of two, a mean of four, and a sum of eight. They represent within particular forms the interaction of complicated forces, and might therefore be expected "to prevail in highly individualised members of a dynamic system." The numbers two and four and their multiples on the contrary represent "the action and reaction, and equilibration of simple forces, irrespective of a particular boundary," and might therefore be expected to prevail in minerals, and in the series of animals and plants which rise least above the mineral kingdom, and have no rigidly defined form. The typical number of the organic world, of plants and animals, seems to be 32, with its dichotomous sub-multiples 16, 8, 4, 2, and its components $20 + 12$, with their dichotomous sub-multiples 10, 5, 6, 3.

We thus find that the issues of organic forces are as capable of mathematical expression as the resultants of purely physical forces. In every department of nature, from the arithmetical laws that regulate the distances, movements, and attractions of the stars of heaven, to the quantitative laws of definite proportions and equivalents which lie at the basis of all the compositions and decompositions of the earth, and the numerical relations that are found among all the living creatures, animal and vegetable, that exist on the land, and in the air and water, physical science shows that recurrent or typical numbers have a most important place and influence, and constitute the "Principia" of the universe. The more our studies and researches extend, the more numerous and striking do we find the proofs and illustrations of the fact, perceived long ago by the great philosophers, that "creation is nothing but a play upon numbers"; that numbers pre-existing in the divine Mind form the model according to which all things are brought together and linked in order. And seeing that God has thus measured His works of nature, it admits of being suggested, as Professor Bain has done in his work on *Logical Induction*, that we may yet hope to attain quanti-

tative accuracy in the science of mind, and that the faculties of the human mind may be denoted by a numerical scale as the elements of the human body are conformable to the chemical and astronomical laws of number. The casualties of human life, as we all know, are made matter of human prediction ; not only those which arise from merely natural causes, but also those which arise out of human volitions. Our guarantee societies that concern themselves with the probabilities that a certain number of confidential servants will betray their trust, our life insurance companies which are bulwarks against the uncertain mortality of human life, are all based upon numerical relations which can be established and provided for as accurately as the likelihood of the occurrence of a storm or an eclipse. Professor Blackie in his *Lays and Legends* has admirably indicated the significance of this law of numbers pervading all nature :

But what rare wisdom did the Samian teach ?
 He saw the open mystery of number,
 That makes the world a world, and doth redeem
 All things from chaos.
 Then let me hear the mystery of number !
 Bring a flower !
 Count me the petals. They are five ;
 Then count the stamens, that like satellites
 Keep circular guard around the central germ ;
 I've told them twice. I think they number ten
 Right, and twice five make ten, and so this flower
 Divides by five. The number of the flower
 Shaped the proportion ; thus Pythagoras said,
 And have all flowers a number ? Yes, all things
 Are numbered in a calculation far
 Beyond the reach of Newton or Laplace.

Such co-ordinated facts as have thus passed in review before us are proofs of a higher order of causation. They take us out of the region of blind chemical affinities and simple varieties of molecular motions, and introduce us into the manifest world of thought and purpose. This

marvellous order is the expression of something more marvellous and awe-inspiring behind it. It reveals the existence of a supreme Personal Intelligence. It opens up to us glimpses of the deep things of God, of the manner in which He has chosen to deal with His universe. It corroborates the old saying of Plato that "God geometrises incessantly"; and the aphorism of Novalis that "the life of God is mathematical." It shows that the archetypal idea of the created universe and all its parts had been before His mind prior to the issuing of the creative fiat; that the universe is but the material expression of the intelligible numbers or ideas which had existed in the divine Mind from all eternity.

It is a strange thought that the typical number of teeth, barely visible to the naked eye, in the seed-vessel of a minute moss on a wayside wall, should be correlated with the numerical arrangements in the highest animals and plants, in the body of man himself, and among the stars of heaven. It proves surely that the same Hand which adjusted the lilies of the field set in motion the stars of heaven; that the order of the whole universe is represented in the very smallest of its features and humblest of its details. It shows in a most interesting way the unity of the universe, the unity of the great Being who causes all its phenomena, and the unity of the plan by which these phenomena are bound together. The universe is the product of one Mind, whose geometry is the same in the sky and on the earth; inorganic contributing its elementary, and organic its higher form. We cannot believe that a universe so measured and numbered could possibly be the result of a mere fortuitous concurrence of atoms, or of the mere action of self-existing and self-created properties of matter, without the intervention of intelligence. The correspondence between the ideas of number that are inherent in the human mind as purely intellectual conceptions and the numerical relations of the world outside was doubtless intended to invoke the aid of reason to pass judgment upon it. The principles upon which God acts in regard to the

numerical relations in all parts of His works are principles thoroughly intelligible to man himself ; and the fact that human sagacity has actually discovered and scientifically demonstrated these laws of numerical proportions, is a clear indication that there is the closest link between man's reason and the Supreme Intelligence by which all things have been ordered ; that God, by creating man in His own image, had set the order and harmony of the world in his heart. No other creature, as we have said, possesses this capacity. Animals show many points of resemblance to man in regard to power of affection, association, memory, wilfulness, faintly resembling man's freedom of action, and even some degree of moral sense. But they show no sign that they possess the power to apprehend these relations. In this respect there is an impassable gulf between man and all the other creatures made in his image ; and we are driven to the conclusion that man must have derived this unique power, not from a creature origin, but directly from the Creator Himself. And the fact that man is able to make use of numerical relations in all his own works, and in all the details of his life, shows that he is indeed made in the image of Him who makes use of the same relations in the ordering of His universe. If in a lonely deserted school-house we find arithmetical sums or geometrical problems traced on the blackboard, we know as surely that a mind conversant with numbers had been engaged upon them as if we actually saw the teacher or the pupil at work. Why should we hesitate to come to the same conclusion when we see the same or similar arithmetical sums and geometrical problems wrought out by an invisible Hand in the parts of plants and animals, and in the arrangements of mineral and chemical substances ?

In regard to the moral link between the human race and its divine Author there may be some uncertainty, owing to the fact that we have lost our holiness, and have no true standard of righteousness within us. That part of the image of God in which we were created has been lost or effaced ; but in regard to our intellectual power of discern-

ing the relation of numbers pervading all His workmanship and regulating all our own doings also, there is no uncertainty. We worship, so far as this quality is concerned, no longer at an altar to the "Unknown God"; and we are no longer dubious that we are the offspring of the living God. When I mark the angles of a crystal, or count the petals of a flower, or follow the spiral arrangement of scales on the cone of a pine-tree, or mark the carefully numbered divisions of the tiny membrane which closes the mouth of the fruit-vessel of a moss, I discover in myself, with feelings of solemn awe, a capacity for entering into ideas which permeate the whole universe, and which must therefore be ever present in the mind of Him who created and upholdeth all things. Kepler deeply realised this, when, in his numerical discoveries among the orbs of heaven, he gloried in the conviction that he had been privileged "to think the thoughts of God." And the Christian should feel it with even greater power, when it is his privilege to address God as One who acts towards him on principles intelligible to his own understanding and conscience; who says to him in all his approaches to the mercy-seat, "Come now, and let us reason together."

And reasoning thus we feel that God deals with us as He deals with all His creatures, according to the law of numerical proportion. He who measures the waters in the hollow of His hand, and metes out heaven with a span, and comprehends the dust of the earth in a measure, and weighs the mountains in scales and the hills in a balance, for wise and beneficent reasons, which we can see and understand as we study the geography of the earth, has made a covenant with human beings, ordered in all things and sure, in which there is a similar system of exquisite beneficent adaptation. And if the mathematician can demonstrate that the leaves of a plant are arranged around its stem in such a way as to give them the fairest possible freedom of access to air and light, and the planets placed at such distances from the sun as to give them the fairest possible chance of revolving around it undisturbed by their neighbours, surely the

Christian can prove from his own experience and observation that God performeth the thing that is appointed, and adapts His special dealings to the circumstances and necessities of His people. He who telleth the number of the stars, and calleth them all by their names, has assured us that in His book all our members were written, which in continuance were fashioned, when as yet there were none of them ; and that since we were born He numbereth our steps, that the number of our months is with Him, that our times are in His hand, that even the very hairs of our head are all numbered. The conclusion, therefore, is as irresistible as it is welcome, that we need not fear any of the evils of life, for they could have no power at all against us, except it were given them by One who is too wise to err, and who so loved us that He did not spare His own Son, but delivered Him up unto death for us all. In our sorest affliction He keepeth all our bones ; not one of them is broken. What a depth of meaning, looking at them in the light of our present reflections, is in the words addressed by God to the Jews, as twice recorded by Jeremiah : " Fear thou not, O Jacob, My servant : for I am with thee ; for I will make a full end of all the nations whither I have driven thee : but I will not make a full end of thee, but correct thee *in measure*." He says to us as He said to the Church of Smyrna, " Thou shalt have tribulation *ten* days," that is for a fixed limited time, for a space that you can comprehend at once, see the beginning and the end of, as you can see your ten fingers spread out before your eyes. The cup of affliction is like a doctor's graduated medicine-glass. No more of the bitter healing medicine shall we have to drink than will suffice to heal us. The very fact that it is a cup shows that it is a fixed, limited, measured quantity, even if we should have to drain the whole of it from the brim to the dregs. God makes no mistakes in His providence, as He has made no mistakes in His creation. Mathematics is the most exact of all sciences ; and God's providence is most perfectly mathematical. He makes an exact calculation for everyone whom He invites to the feast of life, and ample

provision for every guest, who knows that he shall not want. He has provided for us a plenteous redemption, so that His grace is sufficient for all and free to all. He rewards us a hundredfold for any sacrifice or work we do for Him, not merely a hundred per cent., but a hundred to one. And the glorious city of our final habitation is measured with the golden reed 12,000 furlongs, the length and the breadth and the height of it being equal, containing room enough and to spare for the multitude which no man can number, but each of whom is known and precious to the Redeemer.

In the logic class-room of the Edinburgh University, where it was once my privilege to study under the great Sir William Hamilton, I used to see every day the maxim of Phavarinus, inscribed in golden letters on the walls—

On earth there's nothing great but man ;
In man there's nothing great but mind.

It is a curious characteristic of our day that just in proportion as larger views have to be taken of the universe in which we live, there is a tendency to think less of man. But surely the very knowledge we have acquired of the physical greatness of the universe is a proof of our own far surpassing mental greatness. The material universe does not know itself ; but we know both ourselves and it. The sublime considerations that have passed under our review ought to confirm the maxim of Phavarinus. He who can comprehend the heavens and the earth must be greater than they. The mathematician who can generalise the phenomena of gravitation, or the boy at school studying the elementary problems of Euclid, algebra, and arithmetic, must have a lineage higher than that of all other creatures on earth. In the countless mechanical devices and constructions in which man copies God's methods in creation ; in the pyramids, bridges, and aqueducts in which he employs the laws of numerical relations ; in the highest triumph of human art, the glorious Parthenon, still standing proudly in its ruins on the Acropolis of Athens, which embodies in its faultless proportions the same numerical laws appearing everywhere

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in nature, man's genius is akin to that of the Supreme Power to which the universe owes its orderly and harmonious existence. The more advancement, therefore, we make in scientific knowledge, the more we shall feel our nature elevated ; the more we shall have our convictions strengthened that the great argument of natural theology rests on a basis which no present theories of evolution can subvert, and that the footprints of the Creator are nowhere more plainly visible than on that very matter which the materialist would consider the source and the end of everything. The more, too, shall the common difficulty that Christianity, which at once abases our nature to the lowest and lifts it to the highest, is a fact or salvation too great for belief, disappear. The Cross of the Son of God is not out of proportion to anyone who in this way acquires more evidence of the measures of humanity. No work of God holds a juster proportion than the great mystery of godliness ; and the convictions of immortality are deepened by such evidence.

HUGH MACMILLAN.

GREAT BRITAIN'S COAL RESOURCES.

1. *Home Office General Report and Statistics for 1899: Mines and Quarries.* Part III., "Output." Part IV., "Colonial and Foreign Statistics." Presented to both Houses of Parliament, 1900.
2. *Diplomatic and Consular Reports. Trade of Germany for the Year 1899.* (Foreign Office. 1900.)
3. *Diplomatic and Consular Reports. Coal Crisis in Russia.* (Foreign Office. 1900.)
4. *Accounts relating to Trade and Navigation of the United Kingdom, for each Month during the Year 1900.* (Board of Trade.)
5. *Statistical Abstract for the United Kingdom in each of the last Fifteen Years, from 1885 to 1899.* Forty-seventh Number.

THE century just closed has been designated by many titles intended to strike its dominating note ; the Age of Iron and the Age of Steam, among others, conveying the fact that the nineteenth century witnessed such a development in the industrial life and political and social economy of the nations as was never before chronicled in the history of the world. There is, however, another and an even more comprehensive title that may appropriately be given to the past hundred years ; *viz.* the Age of Coal. Without coal, iron and steel could not have been forged, except in inconsiderable quantities ; neither could railways and steamships, gas-lighting and electric lighting, steam power and electric power, have become commonplaces in our modern life. The part played by coal in the attainment by this country to its commercial and political pre-eminence among the other nations of the world is appreciated by few and, indeed, unknown to many in our midst. Yet, but for our possession of vast quantities of

coal in close proximity to large supplies of iron, and within easy reach of the sea, so that iron-ore imported from other countries can be brought with small expense to the coal, our trade would have been a shadow of what it is to-day; and, as *without coal we could not have built nor maintained a navy to contend with those of coal-possessing nations*, our place as a world-power—had we continued to exist as a nation—would have been only a lowly one. The absolute necessity to us, as traders and as a sea-girt empire, of a plentiful and cheap supply of coal, renders, therefore, the question of our coal resources, their extent and probable duration, one of national and vital importance. Unfortunately it is one to which little attention is paid by the general public, except at those times when, from one cause or another, the price of coal is increased so materially as to bring the question home to all by touching our pockets. From such a time we are now emerging; and it is well that the opportunity afforded by that fact, and by the interest in the question created by the duty imposed upon coal exports this year, and the outcry raised against that duty by the coal-owners and miners, should be seized before it passes, to direct public attention to the subject of the nation's coal supply, in order that all possible, practicable, and wise means of conserving our resources may be discovered and adopted.

Another fact, the existence of which may well lead to an examination of the coal problem in this country, is the growing competition of other industrial countries which we are experiencing in home as well as foreign markets, and which there is reason to believe will be of a much more formidable character in the future. There is no necessity to enter here into any discussion of the possibilities and probabilities of German and American manufacturers (especially the latter) depriving this country of its customers. The equipment of "Our Commercial Rivals" was described at length by Mr. Urquhart A. Forbes in a recent contribution to these pages,¹ and it is sufficient now to remark that *unless our*

¹ LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW, October, 1900.

manufacturers obtain a plentiful supply of low-priced coal in the future they will have no chance of withstanding the onslaught of their competitors. How, then, it may well be asked, do we stand in regard to our coal supply?

Though somewhat spasmodically, that question has considerably agitated the mind of the community during the past year, owing to the scarcity and very high price of all kinds of coal—a scarcity which, beginning in the winter of 1899–1900, lasted right through the ensuing summer; while prices continued at high levels until quite recently, and, so far as house coals are concerned, have not yet been materially reduced to the consumer. Such scarcity and dearness of coal had not, in fact, been experienced for twenty-five years as that which suddenly, and with scarcely perceptible warning, came upon users of fuel for domestic and industrial purposes alike in the latter months of 1899, and grew only more acute as winter passed and spring and summer approached.

The following table will enable the fluctuations of the prices of various kinds of coal during the last two years to be observed. The prices are in all cases those quoted as “at the pit’s mouth,” and are obtained from *The Iron and Coal Trades’ Review* (January 4, 1901):

Date.	Best Steam (Cardiff).	Best Household (Cardiff).	Manufacturing.		Gas (Newcastle).
			Newcastle	Barnsley.	
1899	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
January ...	14 6	14 0	4 3	5 0	9 3
June ...	12 9	13 6	5 6	5 9	10 0
October ..	13 9	13 9	7 3	8 3	11 3
November...	16 9	15 3	7 9	6 6	13 0
December...	21 3	16 9	8 9	12 6	15 3
1900					
January ...	29 0	23 3	11 6	10 9	20 0
April ...	22 0	21 0	12 3	12 3	17 3
August ..	27 9	22 6	13 0	13 0	17 6
September	28 6	25 0	11 3	13 3	18 3
December...	19 0	21 6	8 0	11 0	13 9

The effect of this great inflation of the price of coal—as also of the prices of coke and all other kinds of fuel, which naturally rose in sympathy with coal—upon the trade of the country has been serious and widespread. At a very moderate computation, the consumers of coal in this country, during the period from November, 1899, when the upward movement began to show itself, to the end of 1900 (which by no means saw the end of high prices), paid for their supplies £50,000,000 more than they would have done had prices not risen at all. That is a very heavy burden for a community to bear—equal, indeed, to an addition of about 50 per cent. of its normal taxation, or a third of the cost of the South African war—and the results are to be seen on every hand. Railway companies, for instance, use something like 10,000,000 tons of coal every year in their locomotives; and their higher fuel bills have had to be largely paid by the shareholders, owing to the fact that passenger and goods rates are not very elastic, and cannot be adjusted speedily to an increase in working expenses. The dividends declared by the railways for the past year are, indeed, eloquent of the fact.

Again, gas undertakings—municipal and private—together use about 14,000,000 tons of coal per annum, and the price of gas has been almost everywhere raised, in consequence of the upward rush of coal prices. The three principal Metropolitan companies, for example, increased their charges by about sixpence per thousand cubic feet in the course of last year; and this, thanks to the wise arrangement by which Parliament has partially protected the consumer from extortionate charges, carries with it an obligation upon the companies to pay lessened dividends to their shareholders. Then there are the factories, the mechanical industries of all kinds, the shipping trade, and, largest coal-users of all, the iron and steel trades. In every direction prices were of necessity raised in consequence of the extra cost of fuel. Building materials became dearer, freights rose, the steamship companies put up their passenger rates, and the enhanced cost of coal for the navy and for the transports to

South Africa increased the burden of the taxpayer, who as householder has also had to pay through the nose for his fuel requirements ; in short, everyone who is a consumer of coal either directly or indirectly (and who is not ?) has suffered more or less serious loss, what time the colliery proprietors, the coal-factors, and the coal-miners have been reaping a golden harvest.

The profits earned by the collieries, it may be remarked, have been reflected only faintly in the dividends paid ; for enormous sums have been used to augment reserve funds and to write off depreciation of plant, in anticipation of the rainy days that are sure to come. The wages of the coal-miners, in accordance with sliding scales and agreements, have risen to figures higher than any previously known ; wages which they will reluctantly—perhaps not without a serious struggle—relinquish in the more humdrum future. According to the statistics published by the Board of Trade (Labour Department) the increases in wages granted to the colliers in 1900 amounted by the end of the year to no less than £163,870 per week, as compared with the rates ruling at the end of 1899 ;¹ which, in their turn, showed an increase of £49,000 per week over 1898.²

The effects of the extraordinary condition of the coal market since the autumn of 1899 have, then, been widespread and serious ; but the subject was for many months practically neglected by the newspapers, on account of the all-absorbing interest and overshadowing importance of events in South Africa. At the end of last summer, however, when the war was passing from the exciting stage of organised warfare into the subsequent phase of weary, desultory, inglorious fighting, the columns of the press were filled with discussions of the "coal famine." Explanations, varied and frequently inaccurate, of the originating causes were given ; prognostications, often pessimistic, were made as to the future ; and numerous remedies for the then existing state of things were proposed, remedies whose

¹ *Labour Gazette*, January, 1901.

² *Ibid.*, January, 1900.

ultimate effects would, in many cases, be worse than those produced by the trouble sought to be overcome. It will, therefore, probably lead to a clearer understanding of the whole question of the country's coal supply if we first consider the causes that were instrumental in bringing about the scarcity and dearness of coal which produced the results we have been describing in outline.

In the first place, it may be emphatically declared that this scarcity and the consequent dearness of coal were not even remotely caused by the approach of the exhaustion of our coal-mines. That shall be demonstrated presently; but it is necessary at once to clear the air of the idea, frequently expressed in the newspapers, that the recent dearness of coal was partly due to our being within measurable distance of coming to the end of our tether so far as coal is concerned. The fact, paradoxical as it may appear, is that *the supply of coal was never greater in this country than when it was most scarce*; in other words, the scarcity was not actual, but relative—not due to a failure of supply, but to a great expansion of demand. The supply had, indeed, increased rapidly during 1899, though not so rapidly as the demand. The growth of the output is clearly shown by the following figures:¹

Year.	Total Output.	Coal Exported. ²	Remaining for Home Consumption.
	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.
1898	202,054,516	48,266,699	153,787,817
1899	220,094,781	55,810,024	164,284,757
1900	225,181,300	58,405,088	166,776,212

In spite, however, of this increase of 10,500,000 tons in the quantity available for home consumption in 1899, the price of coal, as we have seen, rose sharply towards the end of the year; and continued to rise for some time in 1900, although the output increased a further 5,000,000 tons.

¹ *Report and Statistics, 1899: Mines and Quarries, Part III.*, p. 171; and *Report and Statistics, 1900: Mines and Quarries, Part I.*, p. 6.

² Including bunker coal shipped for use by steamers engaged in foreign trade, and the equivalent of coal contained in coke and patent fuel exported.

The scarcity—or, more correctly, the short supply—of coal was, therefore, due to increased demand, not diminished supply. Whence, then, came this abnormal demand for coal, and what was the cause of it?

The increased demand for coal came partly from the home market and partly from abroad. It was in both cases caused by the general activity of trade and the special abundance of orders in the engineering trades in this country, in France, Germany, Austria, and in Russia. The demand for iron and steel—the raw materials required for the manufacture of machinery, tools, and other finished metal goods—consequently grew apace. All the works were running full time, fresh furnaces were built, and others again brought into blast, so that the consumption of coal in the iron trades increased by leaps and bounds. At the same time a similar state of affairs existed in the United States, so that no relief for the European markets was then forthcoming, and little is in the immediate future to be expected, from that quarter.

The following comparison of prices in the iron and steel trades at the end of the last four years will give some idea of the activity of the demand during 1899, and the greater part of 1900 :

Description.	Price per Ton.			
	Dec., 1897.	Dec., 1898.	Dec., 1899.	Dec., 1900.
Pig Iron—				
No. 3 Foundry,				
Middlesbrough	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Hematite Warrants,	2 0 6	2 4 6	3 8 0	2 16 6
Scotland ...	2 7 6	2 16 0	3 13 0	3 8 0
Manufactured Iron				
and Steel—				
Marked Bars ...	7 10 0	8 0 0	11 0 0	11 0 0
Common Bars ...	6 0 0	6 10 0	10 0 0	8 15 0
Steel Rails ...	4 10 0	4 15 0	6 17 6	6 0 0
Ship Plates ...	5 10 0	6 15 0	8 0 0	6 15 0

It will be seen that prices at the end of 1899 were on the average more than 50 per cent. higher than those quoted in December, 1897. Competition having full play in these industries in this country, that fact is eloquent of the increase in the volume of business during those two years.

We have, in fact, been passing through a period of unparalleled commercial prosperity, commencing in the early days of 1897.

The following figures¹ convey some idea of the expansion of business within the past seven years :

Period.	Tonnage of Vessels entered and cleared, with Cargoes only, at Ports in the United Kingdom, from and to Foreign Countries and British Possessions.	Exports of Iron and Steel.	Goods and Minerals conveyed on British Railways.
	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.
1893-5	196,297,704	8,342,113	952,029,871
1897-9	227,137,069	10,647,636	1,166,576,556

The trade of the civilised world being founded upon iron and steel, which in their turn are dependent upon coal for their manufacture, the result of this trade expansion was a steady and rapid growth in the consumption of coal. The demand overtook and passed production and gradually absorbed all existing stocks. In the case of a commodity so vital to almost every industry as coal, it does not take a very great excess of demand over supply to materially increase prices, as every consumer is so keenly anxious to secure his requirements. Railway companies, gas companies, shipping companies, navies, all must have fuel or they come to a complete standstill, and that is what they will (temporarily, at all events) pay any price rather than do.

Moreover, as we have said, this industrial activity was by no means confined to the British Islands. On the adjacent continent, as well as in America, trade was also flourishing, with a similar result. The supply of coal failed throughout

¹ *Statistical Abstract*, 1899, pp. 100, 164, 210.

Europe to satisfy the demand, the situation being seriously aggravated in the early months of last year by a prolonged strike of the coal-miners of Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia. From January 2 until the end of March, about 60,000 men were idle; the vast majority of the factories in Austria being thereby thrown out of working, while wood had to be resorted to in many towns. This strike reduced the available supply of coal in Europe by about 5,000,000 tons.

The shortage of coal was felt with especial severity in Russia. On March 5, 1900, a report was received at the Foreign Office from the British Commercial Agent in that country, setting forth the facts concerning "The Coal Crisis in Russia."¹ The report stated that the scarcity of coal, the abnormal rise in prices, the exhaustion of available stocks, and the dearth of kindred fuels, had led to a temporary relaxation or remission of the duties on foreign coal, and to stern measures on the part of the authorities in restricting prices and suppressing "rings" and syndicates. The main causes of this scarcity of coal were stated to be the development in recent years of the industrial activity of Russia, and the extension of railways (especially in Asiatic Russia) and navigation.

Mr. Consul-General Schwabach's report on the trade and commerce of Germany for the year 1899,² speaks of a marked expansion of industrial activity, leading to a greater demand for coal in that country. Similar conditions complicated by labour troubles also existed in France, and, in more or less degree, throughout Europe.

No more conclusive proof of the great expansion of trade abroad could, however, be adduced than the fact which most concerns us in considering the question of our coal resources, and that is the enormous increase of the shipments of coal from this country to Europe during the past two years. It is not going too far to say that if the exports of coal per annum in 1899 and 1900 had not exceeded those in 1898, there would have been no coal crisis in this country,

¹ *Diplomatic and Consular Reports*, No. 523, Miscellaneous Series.

² *Ibid.*, No. 2523, Annual Series.

as the supply would have been on more even terms with the demand. The following figures¹ show the growth of the export trade in the last three years, and which countries are our principal customers amongst the foreign nations :

Purchaser.	Exports of Coal, Coke, and Patent Fuel.		
	1898.	1899.	1900.
	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.
France	5,710,113	6,870,365	8,636,632
Germany	4,711,370	5,058,573	5,985,559
Italy	4,665,166	5,526,995	5,345,165
Sweden and Norway ...	3,612,445	4,494,129	4,485,301
Russia	2,195,067	3,397,692	3,227,891
Spain	1,789,866	2,291,439	2,619,681
Denmark	2,045,768	2,052,807	2,124,435
Egypt	1,907,505	2,125,924	1,973,790
Holland	931,134	1,288,829	1,901,544
All other Countries ...	8,994,362	10,004,651	9,808,013
	36,562,796	43,111,404	46,108,011
Coal Shipped for use of } Steamers engaged in } Foreign Trade }	11,264,204	12,226,801	11,752,316
Total ²	47,827,000	55,338,205	57,860,327

The total quantities purchased by the various countries were valued as follows :

Year.	Tons.	£	Average Price.
1898	36,562,796	18,135,502	9s. 11d. per ton.
1899	43,111,404	23,093,250	10s. 9d. „
1900	46,108,011	38,606,446	16s. 9d. „

¹ *Accounts Relating to Trade and Navigation* (Board of Trade), December, 1900.

² These figures differ slightly from those shown on p. 30, by reason of the fact that the tonnages now quoted are those of coal, coke, and patent fuel actually shipped during the three years in question, whereas those quoted on p. 30 are from the Home Office reports and are corrected to give the exports of coal, *plus* the estimated weight of coal represented by the coke and patent fuel exported. The final report showing the detailed corrected figures for 1900 being not yet available, it has been thought best to give for the three years the shipments as published by the Board of Trade.

The effect of the rise of six shillings in the average price per ton that took place in 1900, is seen in the lower rate of increase in the shipments in that year, and in the actual decline now being witnessed. The exports of fuel during the first four months of this year were only 17,040,677 tons, as compared with 17,422,756 tons in the same period of 1900.

No less effect did the high price of coal in the home market have upon those very trades the activity in which so largely brought about the scarcity of coal—the iron and steel trades. The fall in prices which we have already shown to have taken place between December, 1899, and the end of 1900, indicates that a considerable falling off in the demand for machinery and metal goods generally had been experienced in the meanwhile. It is, indeed, the fact that after about the end of April last year, the choking tendency of high prices began to make itself felt in the engineering trades. The works continued busy for months afterwards, it is true; but the margin of unexecuted orders steadily diminished, until by the early part of this year the iron and steel trades had reached a condition of absolute depression.

Statistical proof of this slackening of business is found in the exports of iron and steel, taken quarter by quarter :

EXPORTS OF IRON AND STEEL.¹

Quarter.	1899.	1900.	Difference (1900 over 1899).
	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.
To March 31 ...	708,653	966,188	+ 257,535
„ June 30 ...	977,782	1,026,785	+ 49,003
„ Sept. 30 ...	996,910	805,029	— 191,881
„ Dec. 31 ...	1,033,835	747,355	— 286,480
Total ...	3,717,180	3,545,357	— 171,823
Value ...	£28,101,049	£32,017,157	+ £3,916,108

¹ *Accounts Relating to Trade and Navigation* (Board of Trade), March, June, September, and December, 1900.

The values are inserted merely to show how necessary it is to look below the surface of statistics. An increase of nearly four millions sterling in the value of the exports of iron and steel in 1900, stated by itself would give an entirely false notion of the year's trade. The returns for the first quarter of this year¹ show a continued diminution of the iron and steel exports, the total for the three months being 616,826 tons, as compared with 966,188 tons in 1900, and 708,653 tons in 1899.

Another result of the high prices of coal, iron, and steel in this country has been to open, more widely than ever before, the door to foreign competition. American coal has even been imported into London, but only to the extent of one cargo of gas-coal bought by the South Metropolitan Gas Company. Considerable quantities, amounting in all to 635,237 tons, have, however, found their way into European markets usually supplied from English coal-pits, notably Italy and France, and, in smaller quantities, Russia; while English coal has been replaced to an appreciable extent in the West Indies and Central and South America.

It is, nevertheless, not so much in our coal as in our iron and steel markets that competition has been felt. It is only necessary to state that the total exports of American iron and steel in 1900 exceeded 1,000,000 tons, including over 350,000 tons of steel rails, and that 180,000 tons of unwrought steel from America were put down in the English markets last year (as compared with 40,000 tons in 1898) for it to be realised that the manufacturers in this country cannot long maintain abnormally high price lists without affording their rivals an excellent opportunity to capture their trade.

The recent scarcity and dearness of coal were, then, caused by—

1. Abnormal activity in trade in this country, leading to an *increased home consumption*.

¹ *Accounts Relating to Trade and Navigation* (Board of Trade), March, 1901.

2. General activity in trade throughout Europe, leading to *increased exports of coal* from Great Britain.

The results of the dearness of coal have been—

1. To increase the cost of living.
2. To seriously check trade prosperity.
3. To encourage foreign competition.

The questions that arise, and are seen to be of supreme national importance, are—

1. What available stock of coal is there in our mines, and how long will it last ?
2. Of that stock, what quantity can be brought to bank at reasonable cost ?
3. Do we make the best use of the coal we consume ?
4. Are we justified in exporting 46,000,000 tons, and more, every year ?

It is impossible to do more than briefly consider these questions, which require unlimited space for their adequate discussion. Indeed, the principal object of this article is rather to call attention to the need of an adequate discussion of, and authoritative pronouncement upon, these supremely important questions.

It is now thirty-five years since the Royal Commission, presided over by the late Duke of Argyll, was appointed "to inquire into the several matters relating to coal in the United Kingdom," and thirty years since the Commissioners' Report was presented to Parliament. Since then industrial methods and conditions have been so altered, the navies of the world have developed so remarkably, the economics of coal-mining have so changed, and the exports of coal have increased so rapidly, that the report of 1871 is, in many vital particulars, entirely out of date, and the necessity for an inquiry into the subject as affected by these altered conditions should be urged upon the Government by the representatives of all industrial constituencies.

As to the quantity of coal underlying the British Islands, however, the report of 1871 may be considered to afford fairly reliable information. The commissioners obtained careful estimates from expert geologists, and divided the

aggregate, first into the quantities lying above and below the depth of 4,000 feet from the surface, and then into (1) the coal in the known coalfields, and (2) that in the beds believed to exist, but overlaid by the Permian, Triassic, and Liassic strata.

The depth of 4,000 feet is the extreme distance below the surface at which mining operations are held to be possible.

I have considered it utopian to include, in calculations having reference to coal supply, any quantity, however considerable, which lies at a greater depth than 4,000 feet. Beyond that depth I do not believe it will be found practicable to penetrate. The physical barriers appear insurmountable.¹

These estimates, which are of the quantities unmined at the end of 1869, may be set out as follows :

	In Known Coalfields.	In Concealed Coalfields.	Total.
	Millions of Tons.	Millions of Tons.	Millions of Tons.
At depths not exceeding 4,000 feet ... }	90,207	56,273	146,480
At depths exceeding 4,000 feet ... }	7,319	41,144	48,463
Total ... }	97,526	97,417	194,943
Deduct output 1870 to 1900 inclusive ... }	5,016	—	5,016
Quantity in Coalfields at end of 1900 ... }	92,510	97,417	189,927

These figures are the estimated contents of the coal-seams, after deducting the quantity calculated to be lost in hewing and raising. It will at once be seen that it was not even the distant approach of the exhaustion of our coal-

¹ PROFESSOR HULL: *The Coal-Fields of Great Britain*, fourth edition, p. 505.

beds that brought about the recent scarcity of coal *in the market*. There was no scarcity in the mines.

We may, with safety, consider that at the beginning of the present year about 140,000,000,000 tons of coal remained in those seams which there is reasonable prospect of working. How long will that quantity last? At our present rate of output, just about 600 years. But it would be absurd to assume that the consumption of coal will remain at its present level. Thirty years ago the commissioners calculated that, at the then rate of consumption, our coal supply would last 1,200 years. A generation has shown conclusively that basis of calculation to be valueless.

The commissioners took two other bases. One assumed a constant increase of 3,000,000 tons per annum in the output. This arbitrary estimate has not proved far wide of the mark up to the present. It gives a total output for the thirty-one years 1870-1900 of 4,805,000,000 tons. The actual output was, approximately, 5,016,000,000 tons. On this basis, the commissioners put the life of our coalfields, in 1869, at about 280 years, or say 250 years from the present day, and no other guess will, so far as can be seen, be much nearer the mark.

The other method of calculation was based upon an estimate of (1) the population of Great Britain, (2) the *per capita* consumption of coal, and (3) the quantity to be exported. In regard to the last factor the commissioners went hopelessly wrong. They calculated that the exports would remain stationary, at 12,000,000 tons per annum. This, for the past thirty-one years, gives a total of 372,000,000 tons. The exports actually amounted to 938,000,000 tons. The commissioners entirely failed to foresee the growth of foreign trade, of steam navigation, and of naval power. Correcting for this error, the duration of the coalfields (estimated by the Commission on the foregoing basis at 360 years from 1871) may be put at the same figure as the second calculation reached, namely, about another 250 years from now.

Professor W. S. Jevons, the publication of whose book,

entitled *The Coal Question*, in 1865, caused great stir, and was the *causa causans* of the Royal Commission, was very wide of the mark in his calculations. He founded the estimates which gave rise to such perturbation of the minds of thinking as well as ignorant men, upon a constant annual increase of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on the output, and on an available supply of coal, in 1861, of about 83,600,000 tons. This estimate of our coal resources was founded upon Professor Hull's calculations, and took no account of the sub-Permian, -Triassic, and -Liassic coal-beds.

On these assumptions, our total coal supply would have been exhausted in a little more than 100 years from 1861. We are now in the fortieth of those years; how do the assumptions look in the light of the history of the thirty-nine years that have passed? The average annual increase in output throughout that period was only $2\frac{1}{4}$ per cent., as compared with the $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. adopted by Jevons. The aggregate output was estimated by Jevons at 6,760,000,000 tons. The actual figure may be put at 5,800,000,000. Moreover, the difference tends to widen each year; for while Jevons calculated the quantity likely to be raised in 1901 at 331,000,000 tons, the actual figure will be fully 100,000,000 less.

The error into which Jevons fell was that of imagining that the consumption of coal would continue indefinitely to increase at the rate at which it had grown during the twenty or thirty years prior to 1861—the period during which railways were being constructed up and down the length of the country, steam-propelled vessels were fast superseding sailing-ships, machine-worked factories were springing up like mushrooms, and gas-lighting was coming generally into vogue. In the nature of things the ratio of increase in the consumption of coal was bound eventually to diminish, and diminish it did. The output of coal increased more than sixfold in the first half of the century; less than fourfold in the second half.

It may, then, be safely said that coal will be forthcoming from our mines for at least another 200 years, so that the

problem of existence in a coal-less Great Britain will not have to be solved by our children's children. But a question remains to be answered that closely concerns the present generation of Britons: *How long will our cheaply-mined coal last?*

We may have unlimited quantities of coal beneath our feet; but if it cost ten shillings per ton to bring to the pit's mouth, what will it avail us in competition with a country raising coal at a cost of five shillings per ton? The question of the probable duration of our supply of cheap coal is one that cannot be answered other than at hazard upon the information at present available. It is one the answer to which is of supreme importance, and it is to be hoped that the Government will be persistently urged to appoint a commission to obtain evidence and report upon the subject. In this connexion should be considered the possibility of an extension of the use of machines for coal-cutting, whereby the cost of production may be considerably reduced. In the United States about 25 per cent., in this country only about 2 per cent. of the output of coal is cut by machine.¹ The opposition of the miners is a serious but should not be treated as an insurmountable obstacle in the way of a more general adoption of the cheaper method.

That commission should also direct inquiries towards the question of the economical consumption of coal. The annual waste of power involved in the methods of consuming coal that prevail generally at the present day would be appalling could it be computed. It has been stated, on reliable authority, that the best steam-engines use about 8 per cent. of the energy of the coal, and waste the rest. Ordinary steam-engines utilise a still smaller proportion. He would be a rash man who would declare that of the latent power in the 225,000,000 tons of coal that were raised last year 30 per cent. was utilised.

Any inquiry into the coal question, to be in any sense

¹ *Report and Statistics for 1899: Mines and Quarries, Part IV., pp. 282, 430.*

comprehensive, would also have to consider the question of our coal exports. *Since coal is of vital importance to us as a nation, ought we to deplete our stock by supplying coal freely to other countries?* That is the question that from time to time has agitated the mind of the public, and which has been pointedly raised by the recent imposition of a shilling duty upon every ton of coal exported. That duty has been imposed, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach has stated, solely for revenue purposes, and not for the purpose of restricting the volume of coal exports. While, therefore, its imposition has served the purpose of bringing the whole question of our coal supplies prominently before the public, the policy leading to the levying of that tax need not here be discussed. The question we have to consider is, Are we justified in exporting as much coal as other countries are willing to pay for at the market price?

The only answer that can be given is that to prohibit or seriously diminish the natural flow of coal from our ports to other countries would be nothing short of disastrous to the trade of these islands. A brief consideration of the economics of the question demonstrates that truth beyond dispute.

The imports into this country consist of (1) foodstuffs, (2) raw materials for manufacture, and (3) manufactured goods. For a considerable proportion of those imports we pay in coal. Now, if we cease or materially diminish our exports of coal, it follows that, so far as foodstuffs are concerned, we must either eat less, or employ those who were coal-miners to farm land which cannot produce corn so cheaply as we could formerly buy it from other countries; or we must employ them to make goods for export upon which we are not able to get so high a profit as on coal (otherwise we should have made those goods before).

So far as raw materials are concerned, if we were obliged—for want of means (*i.e.* coal) to pay for them—to import less, we should be obliged to manufacture less; in fact, to reduce the volume of our business. In regard to manufactured goods that we now import, to the extent that we could

not continue to buy them from abroad we should have to make them at home, less cheaply than we now import them, using in their manufacture some of the coal which we had ceased to export.

Moreover, coal provides outward cargoes for a considerable percentage of the ships that fetch the imports we need. Cease to export coal, and some of those ships will be thrown entirely idle, while others will have to carry ballast instead of coal on the outward journey, and accordingly charge higher freights for the homeward cargoes, increasing the cost of our imports.

Again, foreign countries buy our coal because it is cheaper than any other they can obtain. By means of it, directly or indirectly, they manufacture goods which they sell to us. Stop the supply of English coal, and those countries could not produce their goods so cheaply; and we should, therefore, have either to pay more for those goods, or to manufacture them at home at a greater cost than that at which they were formerly imported.

Professor Jevons, who was the man to call attention urgently to the wasting of our coalfields, pronounced emphatically against the prohibition of coal exports, and, since the greater contains the less, against their artificial diminution. He declared that

to prohibit this trade would be to incur a burden equal to the income tax at its worst. And though the greater part of this burden would be borne by the community in general as the consumers of foreign produce, it would be inflicted through that branch of our industry—our navigation—which is truly the safety and glory of England.¹

The truth is, that we cannot help ourselves. Unless we are prepared to relinquish voluntarily some of our commercial prosperity, we must continue to export coal in such quantities as the exigencies of trade require. "We have to make the momentous choice," said Jevons, "between brief

¹ W. STANLEY JEVONS : *The Coal Question*, 1865, p. 347.

greatness and longer continued mediocrity."¹ We have shown that the estimate of the duration of that greatness made by Jevons was very wide of the mark, and the British people (if they are only allowed to see the matter in its true light) are less likely now, than in 1865, to say: "If we go on as we are at present doing, there *may* be no coal left in 250 years. Let us, therefore, do less trade, make smaller fortunes, now; let us at once take a lower place in the world of commerce; in order that—at a time when industrial conditions may have been completely revolutionised—our distant posterity may have coal to burn."

Who—with the lessons of the nineteenth century before him—will venture to prophesy that so small a percentage of the energy-capacity of coal will be utilised fifty years hence as is used to-day, that the duty obtainable from a ton of coals will not be two or three times greater than now, or that coal will be as important a possession to the people of these islands in the year 2150 as it is at the present day?

We have now, briefly, examined the causes and the effects of the recent coal scarcity; have found it to have been in nowise due to the dwindling of our coal resources; have considered what we know about the extent of those resources, and taken note of the points upon which we want information. It only remains to repeat that what is urgently needed is an inquiry into (1) the probable duration of our *cheap*-coal supply; (2) the means (*a*) of cheapening its production, and (*b*) of economising its consumption; and (3) into the question of our coal exports, with special regard to the needs of our navy. To no other nation in the world is the Coal Question so absolutely vital at the present time as to Great Britain.

FRANCIS G. NEWTON.

¹ W. STANLEY JEVONS: *The Coal Question*, 1869, p. 349.

THE MAKING OF MAN.

1. *Genesis and Semitic Tradition.* By JOHN B. DAVIS, Ph.D.
(London : David Nutt. 1894.)
2. *Myth, Ritual, and Religion.* By ANDREW LANG. (London : Longmans, Green, & Co. 1899.)
3. *The Ascent of Man.* By HENRY DRUMMOND. (London : Hodder & Stoughton. 1894.)
4. *The Ascent through Christ.* By E. GRIFFITH-JONES, B.A. (London : James Bowden. 1899.)
5. *Aspects of the Old Testament.* By ROBERT LAWRENCE OTTLEY, M.A. (London : Longmans, Green, & Co. 1897.)
6. *Modern Criticism and the Preaching of the Old Testament.* By GEORGE ADAM SMITH, D.D., LL.D. (London : Hodder & Stoughton. 1901.)

THE time has come when the teachers of religion must give the people a more enlightened interpretation of the earlier chapters of Genesis than that hitherto popular. Archæological research is making the reading public *au courant* with the "origin" narratives of the primitive tribes and races, and has put it beyond all question that the Genesaic records are not the pure origination of a special enlightenment given to Israel. And then, the careful studies of Christian thinkers, so abundantly issued from the press in recent years, are making it plainly manifest that it is time the public were prepared to hear that the origin stories of our Bible are now commonly held by scholars to present us with the truth, as Ottley says, only in "a quasi-historical or mythical form," or "coloured by a poetical imagina-

tion, and even interspersed with free creations of fancy." Such language will carry an ominous sound to those still anchored by the old literal interpretations, and we confess that it goes somewhat beyond our own judgment as to the character of the narratives. But certainly we are bound to lift our anchor and go out into deeper waters. The old literalities have become indefensible; we must find a broader and more spiritual interpretation. We shall lose nothing by the change; indeed we are certain that, moving out on the lines of the newer learning, not chiefly with the critical apparatus of the dictionary scholar, but with an eye to the transcendent impulses towards the spiritual which stirred the hearts of the primitive generations as truly as they stir our own, we shall find that those simple and sometimes grotesque narratives are brimful of a wisdom which all our learning has not made obsolete. To anyone in doubt of this we can cordially recommend a perusal of Professor Smith's new book, which has no other mission than to bring this fact home to the British preacher. Often his interpretations and critical findings will be voted faulty by the discerning reader, but that he thoroughly establishes the superior fruitfulness of less literal interpretation than the traditional is scarcely open to question.

In a recent number of this REVIEW we tried to show that a definite ethical motive had shaped the creation narrative of the first of Genesis. We now wish to point out that an ethical motive is also at work in the story of the making of man in the second chapter, and that if we have presentations that science cannot accept in their literal forms, we have, at any rate, the material for ethical and religious conceptions which man needs for the satisfaction of his conscience and heart.

The interpretation of all primitive creation stories is an art. Without the key to their meaning it is easy to stumble at their bald simplicity of detail, and the guileless manner in which they bring the Creator down to the dimensions of a magical man. Science has so familiarised us with the working forces of creation, and by its theory of evolution

made the process of production move with such imperceptible advancement, that the brusque, quick, mechanical procedure of the best of these creation stories has become offensive to minds in which the scientific spirit predominates over the spirit of religious faith and reverence. Therefore when the scientist ventures to give expression to his interpretation of the Scripture narratives, he usually presents us with a reading which the skilled biblical expositor will disown. He appears to forget two things—the antique literary form of the narrative, and the purely ethical motive under which it has been constructed. The presentations which we have in the second and third of Genesis must have their roots far back in the earlier generations of mankind. Man is essentially a thinker. His very earliest problems must have been those of his origin, his relationship to his Maker, his connexion with the animate creation about him, and the true position of woman as wife and mother. Of necessity, his first answer would not take a scientific, and much less an abstract form. The childhood of a race, like the childhood of an individual, is so vital and full-blooded that all its thoughts become things. The child personalises every living thing about it, and humanises God. Impotence only, or decadent culture, engenders abstractions. This primitive conception of origins would take written form before there was either a hieroglyphic or an alphabetic language in which to write it. It would take the shape of some rude picture that at the best was only an analogical or parabolic approach to the thoughts it strove to represent. Even the thoughts of a Newton or a Kant on such high themes are only symbols of the inexpressible, perhaps inconceivable; and the pictorial writing of the primitive man must have been a symbol that remained at an immeasurable distance from the truth it wished to transmit. If, indeed, as Mr. Andrew Lang finds reason to believe, there came a moral and intellectual lapse in which pure belief was largely overlaid with fable, those later generations would mix up the symbol with the reality, and the picture be translated into words most liable to mislead. The duty of

would-be interpreters of primitive myths is first to translate them back into pictures, and then read the pictures as symbols that will not yield their meaning unless we translate them into the terms of the imagination and the emotions.

The brief narrative of man's creation in Genesis ii. is related in its origin to older forms of thought that come from Babylonia and Egypt, and are found in the traditions of various very degraded races. As in the case of the account of creation in Genesis i., the Hebrew version is less mythical and detailed, more general and condensed. "God formed man of the dust of the ground and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life, and man became a living soul." That gives us a much more refined and defensible representation than the Babylonian story that Bel removed his head and let his blood mingle with the earth, or the Egyptian suggestion that clay was moulded into a human form upon a potter's wheel. And still, it retains suggestions of a mechanical process which, with our scientific education, we feel to be impossible and grotesque. But such a feeling might well lead us to ask ourselves if we are not entirely removed from the view-point of the primitive thinkers. If the Babylonian version were put into our hands for the first time, would we feel justified in committing ourselves to the opinion that the learned thinkers of Babylon in the days of Abraham, when they possessed an elaborate civilisation, not to speak of the later days of Moses, seriously believed that the supreme deity had a body with material blood, and cut off his head to let that blood mingle with the soil for the production of clay for the formation of man? or would we interpret the Egyptian version as implying an actual potter's wheel on which was moulded a human form? Is it not lying upon the surface that these are simply pictorial forms framed to give brief and telling embodiment to a truth which could only be fully expressed in a multitude of words, words which in that age could not be read by the common people? Is it not as evident that the Scripture narrative is the verbal translation of a picture which is to be interpreted neither in its literalities nor in its small details,

but taken as an ideograph which conveys a central and instructive truth ?

According to the general history of creation in Genesis i., an eyewitness would have seen the animal creation as it were spontaneously evolving out of the ground as the embodiment of vital properties already latent in the soil and only awaiting divine command. In this detailed narrative man is signally distinguished in his origin. The earth with all its latent vitalities may mother him, but God Himself is his immediate maker and father. Man therefore distinctively transcends the nature of which he seems to be a part ; or, to borrow from one of Mr. Arnold's sonnets,

A man hath all which Nature hath, but more.

All the virtues of an animal groundwork are in him, but he is an especial work of heavenly art, and has a supernatural life breathed into him which is not shared in by the brutes. Thus the writer symbolises man's humility and mortality, and yet expresses his belief in man's possession of an effluence direct from the life of God. He is a simulacrum of Nature, and a simulacrum of God ; a creature curiously contradictory in his fundamentals, and likely to evolve a life, or at least with the possibility of evolving a life, as contradictory and as tragic as animality can make it or as glorious as his inherent divinity.

There is indeed a metaphysical controversy hanging over the writer's terms. A late able apologist of conditional immortality has remarked that "there is no word descriptive of man's inner nature which is not also used to describe that of the animals." Yet Murphy says that *N'shamah* (Gen. ii. 7) "is invariably applied to God or man ; never to any irrational creature." Mr. White claimed it for the animals in Genesis vii. 22 ; but, as Delitzsch says, "it is the only instance where it can be claimed," and the reference to the brutes is "doubtful." Even if the claim had to be granted, no theological consequence would follow. From the standpoint of inspiration all life is supra-mundane, an

emanation from the divine. The primitive seers might, nevertheless, be well able to discern that life has its varying degrees, existing so far apart that they cannot be confounded without serious error, and yet be unable to give further metaphysical expression to that transcendent essence which in man is the *ruach* of Jehovah. The question, therefore, with the interpreter is not simply, Is there a word which represents a different essence in man's nature as distinguished from the brutes? There may be or may not; but the decisive point is this, Are there phrases descriptive of distinctive qualities or relations which significantly point to an essential difference in the nature of the two? We shall see that these are not wanting. Meantime, it is somewhat suspicious that no distinctive dignity seems to be conferred on man in the name by which he was originally known. Adam simply means one that is formed from the earth. It is indeed remarkable that a name so empirical, and equally appropriate to the humbler animals, should have been applied to one for whom a nature far superior to earth is claimed. Our Aryan forefathers used the appellation *manu*, or *manusha*, "the thinker"; and from this word, through the Teutonic *mensch*, we have our word man. The Greek *anthropos*, as Plato tells us, comes from a phrase which signifies "the looker upwards." The Hebrew knew man neither by his intellectual power nor by his upright stature, but by his kinship with the dust. This can be accounted for only as we account for the fact that another early name for the race was (in Sanscrit, *marta*; Greek, *brotos*; Latin, *mortalis*) "one who dies." As Max Müller says, "They would hardly have called themselves *mortals* unless they had believed in other [kindred] beings as immortals." In like manner, man calls himself *earthly* because he knows of other beings who, like himself, are not clothed upon with an earthly house, and have not his temporary kinship with the lower creatures of this world. The title *Adam* therefore seems to express man's consciousness of his radical identity with the immortal sons of God, with this difference, that he is the meeting-place of two lives, the angelic in the earthly

—the immortal encircled by the temporary life-forms of this world.

The passage gives us no definite information on the pressing question of man's supposed development from the brutes. As we have said, the lower creation might be supposed to have come into existence by an evolutionary process of which God is the ultimate cause. In the case of man, the presumption is against evolution. And yet we cannot regard it as legitimate to say that the idea of man's evolutionary creation is totally excluded. When the writer tells us that man's form was drawn from the finest dust of the ground, we cannot say either that this modern conception was or was not before his mind. It may be held with good reason that the dust of a first human body could not be inorganic, but must indeed have been dust that had passed through two ascensions, from inorganic to vegetable life, and from that to animal, before it was called upon to assume the dignity of becoming a temple for the soul of man. "God took of the dust of the ground" looks to be the abrupt and hasty action of a very few moments; but it may in reality cover the process of thousands of years. If in order to form the earthy and animal side God selected some humbler creature and slowly built it up towards that supremely beautiful form which Goethe, the student of art, called "the alpha and omega of all things," our pride may be a little offended as we think of our humble ancestry, but we cannot say that it derogates in the least from the glory of God as our creator, or from the dignity of man as God made him. The only evolution at which the biblical story strikes is the evolution that knows no God; that makes man only a natural product of forces that sleep in every atom of dust: the blind and apparently casual result of a chance environment which befell some of our apelike ancestors. Scripture can do with an evolution that will give us a breath of God, whose injection at once lifts the lowlier creature up into a being of another stamp, and makes him an image of his Maker. As a theory of creation, we do not believe in it: it is beset with transcendent difficulties from

which it seems to us it will never be able to clear its feet ; but it can be held in a form to which no serious theological objections can be raised beyond the difficulty of accounting for a universal fall.

Darwin's evolution makes it very difficult for us to say when man crossed the line that separated man and beast ; but with the more acceptable view of Wallace, we can mark the crossing of the bridge and differentiate man by the qualities ascribed to him in Scripture. "Made in the image and likeness of God." This phrase postulates faculty and no more. Conspicuous amongst the first man's gifts was reason, by which alone true knowledge is attainable ; the regal power of choice, without which man could have no self-mastery ; conscience, without which man would know no moral imperative, and only be a cleverer brute. With these three faculties man becomes a personality—a self-conscious, self-contained, self-governed unity. But it must not be forgotten that these are only great potentialities in the day of man's creation. Adam must learn to use his faculties—to co-ordinate his powers—to fill his capacities full of the intellectual principles, emotions, cognitions, and experiences by which alone he can realise his personality. A man is made in mind and soul by his own experiences : he cannot be created. Here the evolutionist is more correct in his view of man's development than those theologians who have taught us that Adam came from the hand of his Maker with such mental furnishings that "Aristotle was but the rubbish of an Adam, and Athens but the ruins of Paradise." "In regard to all intellectual beliefs and judgments, there must always be an experience on which they proceed," says Dr. McCosh. We know nothing of a mind furnished with innate knowledge, or with love to God before there is any knowledge of His being and character, or with virtue without any experience of good and evil. Adam could be no paragon of moral excellence in the day of his creation. He might possess a certain inherent momentum towards what is good, have a certain "living beginning" of ethical character, as Martensen calls it, but this germ must

unfold itself from its own self-centred power before Adam could be credited with the attainment of virtue. We think Naville's position is incontrovertible, that "to conceive of a spirit as originally perfect is a contradiction. A spirit is a power, and its law is to realise itself through its own acts, to grow and become perfect." We must hold, therefore, that man is not made by his mere creation. He is only started in pursuit of being, and is not complete without his education. Adam must be regarded only as an involution of wondrous capabilities, placed by his Creator in suitable conditions for the evolution of his various faculties and the attainment of a proper self-control, in order that he may grow up into a self-realising holy manhood, masterful in knowledge, power, and virtue—the crown of Nature's edifice and the vehicle of Nature's homage to its God.

The first biblical note in man's education is that he finds this world a pleasant home, but discovers that his happiness is to be largely dependent upon his willingness to work for his bodily maintenance. And here it is that there come in what *The Ascent through Christ* calls "several features which are inconsistent in detail with what has been clearly and unambiguously stated in the first chapter. For it is here (in chap. ii.) clearly implied that man was made before either plant or herb or animal existed." This to us is clearly a misunderstanding of the reference. No author of the ability of the writer of Genesis would pen or collate such evident contradictions as are here suggested. In the abridgment of an older narrative there may be some confusion; and making a little allowance for such, it seems quite legitimate for us to understand that in giving a local account of man's creation, the author is giving us in verses 5 and 6 the reason for the special creation of a paradise at a later period. The statement of the author is that the plants and herbs of the field were not yet in the land (so would we translate *aretz* here); that is to say, the cultivated plants known to the Hebrews, and dependent upon man's labour, were not in the land set apart for man's habitation, but were held in reserve for his coming. Hence the need

of a special garden. Indeed, there seems to be in this chapter the curious hint that a certain land had been kept rainless and free from vegetation during the long era of the reign of the beasts, that man might be created in a country where he would be safe from beasts of prey, and find only living forms with which he would be able to cope. In the midst of these divine preparations, man is set to train his body into muscularity and health by means of labour, and his mind into intelligence by means of the various objects of interest around him. Thus man comes to have an ever-increasing insight into Nature's mysteries, and a feeling of command over her resources. It is well that we should quite understand that such a period of life is not altogether void of its temptations. The child of Nature may find that Nature has been weaving a fatal fascination about his mind. Where Nature is most bounteous and most beautiful man is most disposed to lie down in Nature's lap and to forget in present joys the golden path of faith and hope which leads him to the stars.

Man must be taught to have dominion in the moral world as well as in the physical and intellectual. Adam must necessarily be incomplete until his conscience has developed its contents, and he has attained some positive knowledge of moral good and evil in their concrete forms. Evolutionary moralists tell us that

to know moral good and evil without willing them is simply impossible. . . . Hatred of evil means feeling of evil, and you cannot be brought to feel what is not inside you, or has nothing analogous within you. Moral perception must rest on moral experience.¹

The simple English of this theory is that sin is a necessary element in personality, and must exist as a concrete thing even before it has been conceived by the mind. The fall of Adam is therefore declared to be "a fall upward." On the other hand, we maintain that a fall is not essential to the

¹ Bradley's *Ethical Studies*, p. 266.

knowledge of good and evil, and that a man can be educated in a state of innocence into the perception of all the moral ideas which are essential to his manhood. The moderns come into the inheritance of such knowledge in virtue of the age-long education of the race, and the variety of human behaviour which we see from our childhood upward. How was this solitary man of Genesis to know of justice when he had no equal? or how would there awake and crystallise within his mind the notions of kindness, patience, gentleness, generosity, truthfulness, courage, or self-control? How was he to know what hatred is, or falsity, cruelty, envy, or vice in any form? Abstract notions are bodiless, impalpable, and powerless as a rule of life. Indeed we may assert that they cannot be conceived of apart from visible forms which become the groundwork of our thoughts and give us the language in which our thoughts become positive to ourselves. Even we, after our long education, find abstract conceptions of little worth. What is passion without its starting eyes, or purity without its marble chaste severity, or joy without its sparkling eye and elevating smile? Where then will Adam find suggestion and embodiment for that large range of thought and sentiment without which we can scarcely call him moral? It is at this point we find the meaning of this simple story of Adam's naming of the beasts. Drummond says that sticks and stones would be man's first objects of mental association. The Hebrew author of Genesis has a better knowledge of childhood's heart and a wiser insight into the symbology of nature and its relation to the mental form of man. For a time man is left in solitude, to pine for company, to reflect upon his wants, to feel his need of someone like himself, and thereby he is drawn into the study of animated nature, and learns exactly wherein each creature that comes before him answers to his inner life, and has therefore power to enter into his fellowship.

And what is the result? That he is soon well up in the habits and dispositions of the lower creation, schooled in the animal passions and emotions—finds one creature open and

innocent, another stealthy and destructive, one courageous, another cowardly and timid, one that suggests to him meekness and simplicity, whilst another carries itself with pride and vanity. Thus he discovers that the animals about him are typical of two worlds—good and evil, pleasure and pain, wisdom and folly, benevolence and malevolence—and at the same time he discovers that this animal kingdom is typical of what is in himself as actualities or possibilities, since this is the only condition on which he would be able to discover and name them. It is a remarkable fact that every emotion man can experience has its animal analogue. The fact is used by evolutionists to prove that man is a material descendant of the brutes. It proves nothing of the sort; or if it did it would prove that man has the blood of nearly every species of animal in his veins. No evolutionist could hold that. But what it does prove is, that the physical world is a marvellous anticipation of man's coming, and a magnificent school for the furtherance of man's education. It is questionable if man could be man without the elaborate typology on which his higher life has been reared. There is not a language in which the lion does not stand for courage, the deer for timidity, the tiger for ferocity, the lamb for innocence, the serpent for spiteful cunning, the dove for simplicity, the ass for stolidity, the horse for intelligence, the hog for gluttony, the goat for lechery, and the peacock for vanity. If we consider Adam as face to face with these characteristics, we can see how he could know cunning though he had never practised it, and discern the evils of aggressive warfare against innocence although he had never had such experiences. The naïve remark of the historian that Adam found no complete identity between himself and any of the animals suggests that he had found many partial resemblances to himself in everyone of them. Thus he learned his moral primer when as yet there was no man to teach him, and thus too he found language and embodiment for emotions which he had known in his experience, and others which he had not known but would know in life, and without the knowledge

of which he could not be intelligently responsible for his character and destiny.

This important principle that the animal world is man's nature by anticipation—his *disjecta membra*—or “natural history to give us aid in supernatural history,” as Emerson has it, is widely recognised in human thought. It is the basis of the theory of transmigration into animal forms. It explains the totem worship of primitive times. It gives us such striking classical myths as that Circe by her debaucheries turned men into wolves and tigers. It produces passages of powerful rhetoric such as we have from Boetius in his *Consolations of Philosophy*, B. IV. Prosa 3, in which he rightly concludes “that whosoever leaves off to be virtuous ceases to be a man, and since he cannot attain to a divine nature is turned into a beast.” That this is not merely rhetoric we have too good proof. Every day we see faces which are being subtly moulded into the resemblance of the ox, the lion, the cat, and the hog, because the qualities of these animals are becoming dominant in the character. We actually have human asses, geese, and pigs, as we have human lions, lambs, and doves. Not merely for piquancy did Horace write, “that bug Pantilius,” and Christ say, “that fox Herod.” Adam was a student in this school of strong typology, and there he learned some lessons of self-mastery which prepared him for his new relationship. He knew that the secret of his lordship over all creation was his power to understand the beasts, in virtue of a higher nature they could not share. He discovered something of the depths to which he might fall if he became disregarding of his diviner nature. He felt that there is no true fellowship attainable except by identity of nature, as true in regions higher as well as lower, and that she who comes to him to be his mate cannot possibly be a being of inferior grade, a chattel like the beasts, a creature subject to his lordship as they were, but must be to meet his wants, a softened reflexion of himself—his image and his equal.

This is the making of man, and yet the man is not complete without the woman. The quaint narrative in the end

of the chapter is often made the groundwork of a light and heartless joke, but rightly interpreted is a narrative of beautiful and profound significance. Its history is unknown. It is not found in any form in Babylonish or Egyptian religion-myths, and appears to be of purely Hebrew origin. Taken literally, it lands us amid a crowd of notions that are bizarre enough. That Adam was in the beginning of his days a hermaphrodite is nothing compared with other odd results. Darwin tells us that man was once a double-sexed creature, but that was when he was a fish swimming in the waters of the Mediterranean. But our present sexual distinction will never be settled on either the Darwinian scientific or the literal biblical lines. Again we say, resolve the narrative into a picture that, before written language is a common convenience, strives to teach ethical truth of great importance, and the truth of the story becomes unchallengeable. There is abundant evidence that such literary resorts were not uncommon in the earliest times, and were perfectly well understood. If we look into ancient Hebrew literature we find other statements concerning Adam that no sane person would interpret literally. Adam we are told was created so large that when stretched upon the earth he covered it completely. How true this is, if it is intended to teach that the race then in the loins of Adam is to cover the whole earth, or that all the world is given to him and that his authority is extended to all its elements, or if it means that every element and creature in the world has its representative in Adam, the microcosm. In the Talmud we read that Adam was so tall that while his feet were on earth his head down to his throat was up in the seventh heaven : a beautiful typical representation of the fact that whilst the first man's nature was grounded in the dust of the earth, there was in him, in his head that intelligence and wisdom, and in his throat that gift of language, which made him sit with the angels and capable of communion with God. And if we take this passage as a pictured symbol, not of Eve's making but of what Eve is in herself, her soul, it is full of instruction much needed in primitive times, and still

requiring to be enforced. The tale as it stands might indeed be a dream thrown upon Adam's mind in sleep in order to instruct him as to the character and standing of his mate, as Milton suggests. If not, it certainly is the product of some inspired genius to whom it was given to see a vision of the interdependence of man and woman which will never become obsolete or be excelled. It is full of endless suggestion, and true without mistake. She is man's similitude—man's equal—man's loss in so far as she takes something out of man, man's gain in so far as she comes back to him with her love and softening influences. In the making of man woman is a mighty factor. Conceive of the human race as a swarm of self-centred hermaphrodites! We could then only think of the race as a mass of intellectual brutality. Woman is the visible embodiment of the more tender, beautiful, sweet, and gracious elements in human nature, and her objectivity has secured the culture of love and any chivalries that are found in man to-day. He is the prose of human nature, she is its poetry. If he has the larger head, she has the larger heart. His aggressiveness is tempered by her devotion and instinctive self-surrender. In short, she is the crowning factor in the education of man. Who knows but in this story of woman's late arrival we have the occult hint that while man rules the world, woman with her larger heart, her subtler force, her greater nearness to the heart of God, rules man; as certainly we have the open intimation here and in the following chapter that with *one* woman man will have enough to do to hold his own.

Such is the biblical story of how man was educated to the point of moral responsibility and prepared to become the arbiter of his destiny. It stands in striking contrast to the evolutionary scheme presented by the late Professor Drummond. Like other present-day evolutionists, he is rather ashamed of all the existent man-like apes, and seeks his ancestors in a long succession of extinct species. But this does not mend matters in the least. We still see man sweltering up under a load of slowly diminishing brutality through five hundred thousand years—finding "by one

chance in a million the multitude of co-operating conditions which pushed him onward"—learning to speak by slow, laborious processes in which language does more for the production of mind than mind does for language—reaching at a very recent period "his heaven-erected face" by the very hardness of his "struggle for life," although nowadays the struggle for life turns man's face away from God and heaven—mating for purely pleasurable purposes without a spark of love, and never feeling a touch of altruistic sentiment until the young are born, and even then the father taking the slightest notice of such advents—there you have a sickening picture of which we say, "God forbid that it should be the truth!" Yet it is the best that an evolutionary theory can do for us. How it pales before the simple and striking narrative of the Bible! and how inferior as a guiding line or as an inspiration toward heroic living! We do not say that we should blindly and determinedly resist all evolutionary theories of man's origin, but neither should we so easily yield them in the present conjectural state of anthropological science. If it is said that we may retain both the biblical and evolutionary accounts because the Bible takes man up only at the point of his religious birth, when the fact of his superiority breaks upon him, then we see a *modus vivendi* with limitations, however, between Scripture and evolution; but we boldly claim that the Bible account, taken in substance as covering the whole career of man, is altogether more consistent with the actual facts of science and with the primitive records of civilisation, as it certainly is more in harmony with the best scheme of Christian doctrine accepted by the Church. What verification the future may produce we do not venture to guess; but as yet we say, let us stand by the biblical representation of the making of man as more worthy of our belief, and more in keeping with the religious faith which rests on Jesus Christ, the second Adam and the Lord from heaven.

ALEXANDER BROWN.

WILLIAM ARTHUR.

1. *The Tongue of Fire ; or, The True Power of Christianity.*
By WILLIAM ARTHUR, M.A. (London : Charles H. Kelly.)
2. *A Mission to the Mysore.*
3. *The People's Day.*
4. *The Pope, the Kings, and the People.*

MR. ARTHUR was first of all a missionary ; and if service is to be measured by results, he was a great missionary. Consecration to the foreign work of the Church was not only the basis of his public life, but it also introduced an educating process which inspired the growth of his mind and developed the form of his character. His early knowledge of India and the preparatory studies of his mission gave a colour to all his future work. His imagination was excited by a new country, a new people, new forms of thought, a religion of splendid traditions, and a literature redolent of poetry and romance. His reasoning powers found an excellent school in the study of the native faiths and in the society of the Brahminical priests. He was an eager student, and longed for the time when a sufficient mastery of their language would enable him to preach and to defend the gospel which had been committed to his trust. In less than a year his natural acuteness and power of rapid acquisition made him an expert controversialist. His coolness, wit, and resource gave him an admirable defence, while he drove home his message with irresistible sincerity and eloquence. There was another intellectual advantage which he derived from this contact with minds of other races and with faiths that were new to him : it not only extended the

range of his knowledge ; he was also taught by it to give a more liberal tolerance to forms of thought that differed from his own. This was an immense gain to a young man of Mr. Arthur's temperament, who was destined to fill an eminent position in literature and in the Church. He was not narrow, for his many gifts gave a natural breadth to his intellect ; yet his convictions were intense, and his impressions of certainty were to himself demonstrations. In all matters capable of proof he was impatient of suspense, and never rested until he was assured of his position. His reading and his knowledge of public men would make him familiar with the region of doubt, but he himself never dwelt in that region. He knew doubt only as a temporary halt on the way to certainty. He did not generally arrive at the truth of a proposition by any formal or acknowledged process of argumentation : he followed an original method of his own ; it was rather that of an orator than a logician : instead of reaching a conclusion by steps, he sometimes alighted upon it.

Among the results of his Indian training was the habit he acquired of taking the largest view of any subject he discussed. He seemed to know at a glance everything that could be maintained against it, or alleged in its favour. Its remotest affinities were present to him ; and this was the secret both of the many-sided method of his reasoning and of the new and unexpected analogies of his illustrations.

The first literary fruit of Mr. Arthur's Indian experience was his *Mission to the Mysore*. The volume is a collection of articles contributed to the *Methodist Magazine* soon after his return to England. Irrespective of its literary or historic value, this memoir of his brief missionary life is an intensely interesting story. It is full of incident : the people, the country, and the more popular aspects of the religions of India are made to live before the reader. We know much more of India and Hinduism now than in the days when Mr. Arthur wrote ; but this advancement is no less due to him and to other pioneers in the scholarship and literature of the East. The chief value of the book to-day is its

introduction to missionary work in India. The student is presented to the people of his mission by a shrewd and careful observer : their language is minutely described, their character is analysed with extraordinary subtilty of discrimination, their customs are historically interpreted, and their manners are painted in fascinating colours. A missionary often spends his first years in learning errors, and then in unlearning them. The path of his preparation is intricate, laborious, and sometimes disheartening. Mr. Arthur is an excellent guide through this stage of a student's career. But even more helpful than the wisdom of his counsels is the spirit that animates his narrative. It breathes the purest missionary devotion : it is not a sentiment assumed and taken for granted ; the writer is so full of it that his descriptions, his arguments, his criticisms, and his reflections, are inspired and pervaded by an ardent, an almost apostolic, consecration.

Compelled by the condition of his health to return to England, Mr. Arthur left India in 1841. To him this was a dire necessity and a profound affliction. Writing to a member of his family at this time he says :

You may think it savours little of affection to say that I left the shores of India and turned my face toward home with the greatest regret. This, however, did not arise from any want of attachment to home or friends. But the people of my mission had become inexpressibly dear to me : I saw their woeful need of the gospel, and longed to spend my life in making it known to them. Gladly would I have resigned every hope of seeing in this life a single relation, had the Lord only counted me worthy to preach among the Gentiles the unsearchable riches of Christ. His will was otherwise.

But while his arrival in England closed his missionary labours on the field, it opened another chapter of Indian service. To measure the importance of Mr. Arthur's work in the early years of his public life at home it will be necessary to remember the position of India at that time. It was our richest and most important dependency, and yet practically it was a close preserve of the East India Company. It was

related to Parliamentary administration, but in so indirect a form that the English public knew nothing of the legislation that governed it. This vast continent of nations and races which by a series of revolutions had come into the possession of England was unknown to the English people. They woke up and were aroused when some great military contest added a kingdom to the British territory, when the Sikh wars gave us the Panjaub; the battle of Meeanee, the Sindian provinces; and the capture of Pegu, Burma. But the crisis which effectually dispelled the mystery that from the beginning had more or less invested India was the Mutiny of 1857. The horrors of that event sent a thrill of dismay through every English home. Then for the first time, when we were near losing it, the grave responsibilities attaching to the inheritance of India began to be understood by Parliament and to be felt by the country. A great change was at hand; a new constitution for the government of India was the inevitable outcome of the Mutiny; the East India Company was doomed. It had built up with hands not always clean a great empire; its service had been the cradle of military genius and the school of illustrious statesmen. If there are chapters in its earlier history which Englishmen cannot read without a sense of shame, it bears on the other hand a glorious record of gallant deeds, of wise administration, and of far-seeing humanity, which we delight to recount to our children, and which even the natives themselves applaud. But, nevertheless, an unspeakable benefit accrued to India and to England when the possessions of the East India Company were placed under the direct authority of the Crown. A great measure like this is the product of many influences that gather outside Parliament, many discussions that are never reported, many articles that are soon forgotten; they abide as the elements of public opinion, and in this form they insensibly guide and mature the deliberations of Parliament. Few men in England during those years of anxious transition rendered greater service to India and to the country than Mr. Arthur. He was not a politician; but he was known to eminent

leaders of the State as one whose intimate knowledge of the people of India enabled him to speak with authority on some of the great problems then engaging the earnest attention of the legislature. His eloquent voice awakened the missionary zeal of the Churches. His platform appeals were irresistible, for they were founded upon facts which he himself had witnessed, and upon events in which he had taken part. At that time he was one of the greatest speakers in England. The essential gifts which make an orator are reason, imagination, and sympathy, and with these he was liberally endowed. When India was the theme of his address, his enthusiasm seemed to make every faculty a passion. But even in passages where his thoughts were poured out with volcanic force, he never for a moment lost the balance of his powers: his imagination, in the highest degree active and fertile, imparted a splendour to his argument, but never impeded it.

During the great Connexional crisis of 1849 the elements of disaffection were concentrated upon the Foreign Missionary Society. The threatened collapse was averted by the steadfast loyalty of our chief laymen and the organised protests of our leading ministers. But the inspiration which animated and crowned their resistance was awakened by a speech which Mr. Arthur delivered at Leeds. The appeals of this historic oration rang through the Connexion and saved our Foreign Missions. In 1851 he was appointed one of the general secretaries of the Society. Next to actual work in the field itself, he found his highest joy in administering its affairs. A missionary secretary is not merely a guardian of finance and a director of policy; he should be a master of the entire missionary life, its cares, its difficulties, its perils, and its hopes. He should have an intimate knowledge of the country in which the work is done, of the men who are doing it, of the people whom the missionaries are seeking to enlighten, and of the government under which they live. In all these respects the qualifications of the new Secretary were eminent, and it soon became evident that he was a great gift to the

Missionary Committee and to the platforms of missionary advocacy.

But Mr. Arthur's official residence in London made him familiar with every great question affecting the responsibility of the Churches and the welfare of the country. His mind was present everywhere, watching the currents of thought, the drifts of popular literature, and the opportunities for bringing religious organisations into nearer relation with the social life of the masses. He was acquainted with the great continental centres of fashion and vice, and was jealous lest to the existing moral dangers of English society there should be added the corruptions of Parisian taste. His letter to Lord Stanley on *The People's Day* is a noble defence of the Sabbath. The subject is discussed on every ground that claims the consideration of an English statesman and a Christian philanthropist. The author pleads the rights of the people as well as the sanctions of religion, and shows that the rest of the seventh day is as closely identified with the political, the commercial, and the social interests of the nation as with the maintenance of the Church. He occupied a distinguished place on the councils of the Evangelical Alliance. He was a master of those great principles of religious liberty which that Alliance was established to defend, and was personally familiar with the countries where Christian freedom, if it lived at all, lived under the menace or by the permission of the priest. There was another institution whose records celebrate the honoured service of William Arthur. He supported the Bible Society by an eloquence of unrivalled authority, and at a time when its foreign work was little known and the missionary witness rarely heard.

Mr. Arthur's place in his own Church was won in the first instance in public meetings. He was the orator of the platform. But his reputation soon became the property of the Connexion; it differed from the fame of the mere popular speaker which ordinary abilities might acquire. There was in Mr. Arthur a range of speculation, an acuteness of discernment, an economy of language, and a weight

of sentiment that proclaimed the presence of a thinker, and the charming simplicity and frankness of his manner captivated the fellowship of all who were associated with him in the assemblies and committees of Methodism. He made his mark in the Conference during eventful days. Among the fathers of that Conference were men renowned for eloquence, wisdom, and statesmanship. This comparative youth rose up in their midst and the wisdom of genius took its part with the wisdom of years. He gained the ear of this critical assembly from the first. There was a modesty in his bearing, an unaffected sincerity in his utterance, which commanded the attention of the elders, and an independence of tone which won the admiration of the younger men. Referring to a speech he delivered at the Liverpool Conference of 1847 during a debate on some action of the Book Committee and against a majority of his brethren, Dr. Gregory says, "I was vastly struck with Mr. Arthur's modest, manly, easy advocacy of the book, without the slightest air of heroic opposition to the seniors." From this early period he was numbered among the lights of the Conference. He belonged to no party, he followed no leader. An eminence so suddenly attained was a giddy height for a young man under thirty; but he might have been sixty, so quietly did he wear the honours of his position. This, however, was largely due to another element in the character of Mr. Arthur, the master-principle of his life, the abiding inspiration of his genius. His faith was not an ordinary belief, it was an inner sight. To him it was literally the demonstration of *things not seen*. It might be said that he lived in the unseen state, appalled by its mysteries and transported by its revelations. They were things not accepted by him, but unveiled to him. He studied them with something like scientific eagerness in the immediate prospect of a new gain. To him they never lost their wonderful newness, and his diligent search was ever rewarded by accessions of spiritual knowledge. In preaching and in conversation he suggested to the observer a seer rather than a theologian. In expounding the Scrip-

tures, to him the river of the water of life, he did not examine texts, but like Ezekiel on the banks of the Chebar, *he saw visions of God*. We knew him well, we were associated with him for many years in public life and in private and confidential relations, and there was a halo of sacredness encircling his presence such as we have rarely seen in any other man. Yet in his spirit there was not a tinge of asceticism, no apparent constraint to arrest the natural flow of his ideas and sentiments, no distance or absence from the subject that happened to be under consideration. We have referred to this distinguishing attribute of Mr. Arthur's religion because it explains at once the unique influence of his life, the unction of his ministry, and the most conspicuous feature of his writings. We have heard men, his superiors in learning, his equals in talents, confess that they could never approach him without a feeling of indefinable reverence.

In 1856 he was elected into the Legal Hundred. He justified the confidence of his brethren by his contributions to important debates, especially did he help the Conference in the solution of great questions such as affected the relation of Methodism to other Churches, or that ever recurring inquiry, how far existing rules should be sacrificed to the policy of aggression? The historic movement to advance Metropolitan Methodism by multiplying the chapels of London was suggested by his wisdom and started by his munificence. At the Conference of 1866 the greatest Connexional honour was conferred upon him. This coveted goal was reached at an early period of his career. He had not been accustomed to occupy the chair in the minor meetings of circuits and districts. But whatever the position he was called upon to fill he seemed to have at command all the qualifications necessary for the fulfilment of its duties. The business of the Conference on this occasion involved the discussion of questions of the gravest importance, but the guiding hand of the President attested his consummate ability. The official record states that the sittings were characterised by unbroken concord. The

testimony of his brethren in their vote of thanks at the close of his official year bears witness to the "able, laborious, and successful discharge of his duties." The year of Mr. Arthur's presidency was in many respects remarkable. There had been a great increase in the societies of Methodism. The Methodist people in the remoter centres of the Connexion had the privilege of seeing and hearing this great orator and preacher in their pulpits and on their platforms. His visit to Ireland that year as President would naturally awaken the enthusiasm of the Irish Conference to which he originally belonged. They state in one of their documents referring to this visit, that the presidency of Mr. Arthur marked the year as one memorable in their history and gave a tone to all their intercourse. It was at this time that the Irish ministers and their chief laymen had set their heart upon a great college scheme. Methodism in Ireland was in urgent need of an establishment for the higher education of young men. The children of our best families were sent to be trained away from the Church of their fathers. It was proposed that the new college should be affiliated to the Queen's University, and combine the means of a first-class education for the Methodist youth in general and the sons of ministers, with a suitable literary and theological training for candidates for the ministry. The Irish Conference felt that Mr. Arthur's designation as the first Principal of the Belfast College would ensure the success of the undertaking, and their representatives first to the Missionary Committee and then to the British Conference urged their plea with so much warmth, eloquence, and perseverance, that they conquered the consent of the Conference and Mr. Arthur was appointed to Belfast. He opened the institution with a brilliant inaugural address. It was a carefully reasoned exposition of the principles of education, and made a profound impression. It occupied two hours in delivery, and was a noted example of his singular power of abstraction, for not a word of it was written.

The list of works at the head of this article will enable the reader to measure the range of Mr. Arthur's studies. The

book that will live longest is the first on the list, *The Tongue of Fire*. The Christian public will not willingly let this die. It belongs to a class of publications which do not as a rule add to the permanent literature of the country. There is a need for them, they supply that need and disappear. There are certain qualities which keep books alive when the occasion that produced them has ceased to exist. They belong to no particular age, but to all time. They contain a wisdom of which human nature is always in need, or they exhibit a perfection of style which rises above the fluctuations of taste and never loses its charm, or they delineate pictures of life in which the reader of every age finds the mirror of his own nature, or they preserve the narratives of historic events, or the records of scientific advancement, which are the essential instruments of the education of mankind. In some respects the literature of the Church lies in a world of its own. The writings of many Christian authors possess the qualities we have named and are imperishable. In the middle kingdom of thought where philosophy is the disciple of theology the thinkers of the Christian school have reigned. They have also commanded the foremost rank in pure scholarship. The relation of Christianity to the best literature is a subject which has never yet been thoroughly handled. We claim for Mr. Arthur's book an honourable place in the literature of the country and a very high place among the treatises of practical religion. The writing itself shows a rare mastery of style. It has not the strength, the elegance, and the splendour of our best prose, but, to borrow an expression from Gibbon, it is *the image of his mind*; it reflects the clearness and original direction of his thoughts, the force of his reasoning, the play of his imagination, and the strong emotion of his spirit. The extraordinary popularity of *The Tongue of Fire*, however, is not due to graces of style. The importance of the subject cannot be overstated: it is nothing less than the existence of Christianity. The book is intended to prove that "a religion without the Holy Ghost, though it had all the ordinances and all the doctrines of the New Testament, would not be Christianity."

There is in it a controversial element, but directed only to the materialistic philosophy : in no other respect is it controversial. It exposes certain errors and conditions in the Church, but the debatable ground of Christian doctrine, if glanced at, is not traversed. His great argument is a meeting-place for all Christians, for all denominations : he is the agent of no party, the disciple of no school ; he is one of themselves, representing a common necessity and a common danger. He makes it clear that the Holy Spirit is not one of many gifts distributed over the ages, more or less needed and prominent according to the requirements of the Church at any given time ; but the essential life of the Church for all time : the one source of its divinity, the creator of its attributes, the authority of its functions, and the sole inspiration of its work. He describes with acuteness and felicity the half-scepticism into which those Christians fall who do not cherish the presence of the Spirit ; he replies with admirable force to questions which occur to the doubtful, but are not publicly asked ; he treats mental difficulties not with impatience and superiority, but with sympathy, and draws his arguments from the analogies of science and the lessons of common life.

The following extract will illustrate what we mean : he is answering the objection that the communication of the Spirit of God with man is a mystery hard to accept :

It seems no mystery that two men should be able to communicate, but a great one that they should be able to do so through an iron wire, when they are a thousand miles apart. One makes a secret fire carry a thought from his mind through a wire towards the mind of the other ; a sensation is given, and both an idea and an emotion follow : but the wire feels none of them. The impulse passes along it ; and the mind interprets that impulse and turns it into the image of a dying father, a new-born babe, a ruined fortune, or a Sovereign saying, " Well done " ! All the sensation, perception, emotion, lie within the mind, none of them in the wire. It is just so with organs ; they transmit impulses, but they know nothing, feel nothing, and explain nothing. The power of communication is a mental power. Spirit knows and gives knowledge. . . . With this fact

before us . . . upon what pretext do we set up a cry of mystery as to the communication of the Spirit of God with man? Absurdity can reach no limit outer than that of supposing that the central intellect knows no avenue to all intellect.

Perhaps the most important part of the book is that in which the author discusses the subject of the Christian ministry. The Church rises or falls with the men to whom are entrusted the proclamation of the gospel and the guardianship of believers. There is no reason to suppose that the essential gifts and qualifications of the first preachers represented an intransmissible type. The work to be done by the ministry to-day demands the endowments and inspiration of primitive times. The conversion of a sinner is an act of divine power: the Holy Ghost *convicts of sin, of righteousness, and of judgment*. He chose men to be partners with Him in the fulfilment of His mission: He chooses them still. The Church may formally separate them to the work, but He anticipates the ordination by a personal call: "Separate me Barnabas and Saul for the work *whereunto I have called them*." Mr. Arthur sets forth in eloquent words the danger of relaxing the straitness of the passage that leads into the ministry. That passage should be open to neither intellect nor learning unless it be made clear that the man possessing them has been "chosen" by the Head of the Church. Here is a striking passage in which the Church is reminded of her great responsibility:

Are the call, the gift, the power, and the training of the Christian minister to continue to the end of time, as to essentials, the same as in the apostolic age? Are we to expect identity in these particulars, between the ministry of our day, and that of the first century; or dispensing with this, are we to be contented simply with a lineal connexion? To put out of sight the scriptural precedents and essentials of ministerial qualification, to give up the spiritual identity of the ministry, and be satisfied with a lineal connexion, is a lamentable abandonment of the Church's hope. If she do not obtain for the sacred office a succession of men able to teach, and endued with the Holy Ghost, she cannot preserve to herself, or transmit to future ages,

the primitive and apostolic ministry. Though all the appendages of the office be preserved, if the spiritual essentials of the minister be lost, the pith and sap of the ancient tree are gone, though the bark and foliage may survive.¹

We have dwelt at some length on *The Tongue of Fire* because as a question of literature it is worth while to inquire why a work of this class published nearly fifty years ago has become an English classic? Such adventitious aids as attend and force the early circulation of a book, the author's name, if he has a name, the welcome accorded to a new volume, flattering notices in reviews, and the advertisements of the publisher's market, have long since ceased to affect *The Tongue of Fire*. Why does it live? Why is it read by multitudes both here and in America? *The Tongue of Fire* is not a fiction, there is no poetry in it, no theory on evolution or the North Pole, no recovery of some lost historical record. Its author was a minister of commanding eminence and popular fame, and this of itself would give a vogue to whatever he might choose to write, but it would be a passing celebrity. No man's name, no man's position, can keep a book in circulation after the term of its natural life expires. It dies when it ceases to be needed. *The Tongue of Fire* lives because it is needed: it was never needed more than now, and not by one Church only but by all Churches alike. Here is the secret of its vitality: it insists upon the doctrine that the Holy Ghost is the one source of power; that that which changes the lives of men, which lifts communities from the helplessness of vice, which controls the passions and imparts energy to the will, is not born of organisation however comprehensive, of talent however supported. Revolutions in morals are, in their spring and in their propelling force, the work of God. If the Church is to hold her place as the regenerator of nations, if her members are to make good their distinction as the patterns of righteousness, if her defenders are not to yield to the subtle agnosticism of the age, her

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academies, her colleges, her conferences, and all her assemblies must have in them and through them, ever renewed, the mighty Spirit which fell upon the first Church at Pentecost.

We should have liked, had there been room for it, to point out the merits of his other books, especially that invaluable work, *The Pope, the Kings, and the People*, worthy a place by the side of Barrow's *Treatise of the Pope's Supremacy*; but time forbids. Mr. Arthur was a gift from God to all the Churches. He filled a large space in the controversies of the day. His books, tracts, and speeches were among the co-operating causes of great events. His work as a minister of Christ, his active influence as a citizen, his offices as a counsellor and a friend, not to touch on the more sacred amenities of home, will live in their results long after the departure of those who now cherish the record as the most precious inheritance of their memory. We and the Israel of God have lost "a prince and a great man."

E. E. JENKINS.

THE COMING SETTLEMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA.

1. *The Settlement after the War in South Africa.* By M. J. FARRELLY, LL.D., Barrister-at-Law ; Advocate of the Supreme Court of Cape Colony. (Cape Town, etc. : J. C. Juta & Co. 1900.)
2. *Why Kruger Made War ; or, Behind the Boer Scenes.* By JOHN A. BUTTERY. (London : William Heinemann. 1900.)
3. *The War in South Africa, Its Causes and Effects.* By J. A. HOBSON. (London : James Nisbet & Co. 1900.)

SOME of the gravest problems which have ever confronted British statesmen have now to be faced in South Africa. Each of them has its own peculiar difficulties and complications. The solution is rendered more than doubly hard by external influences, which indeed ought not to exist, and yet cannot be ignored. That is to say, if we had simply the Transvaal and the Orange River Colonies to deal with, the settlement would be far easier than it is. There are certain people in South Africa itself, and in the old country, who are doing what in them lies, many of them without intending it, to prolong strife, increase bitterness, and postpone as far as possible reconciliation and tranquillity.

To those who live in countries which contain teeming multitudes of inhabitants, it may seem strange that South Africa, with a small population, should be such a difficult country to legislate for and to govern. Eight hundred thousand whites, five or six millions of blacks—surely the task of dealing with these can hardly be so very formidable.

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But, as a matter of experience, it is usually found that it is easier to govern a large community than a small one. In South Africa there is considerable diversity of language and of race, and the native population is six or seven times as numerous as the white. Further, the history of the country is peculiar. For ages the natives have been more or less in conflict with each other ; for nearly two hundred and fifty years Europeans have been at frequent intervals engaged in strife with Africans, and, during the last sixty or seventy years, have on various occasions been at war amongst themselves. All these circumstances have contributed to the creation of the complex and difficult problems which must in some way be dealt with, and, if possible, satisfactorily solved.

Something may, however, be said on the other side. There is now an opportunity of settling the whole South African question, such as never occurred before, or at least has not been presented for half a century. When the Sand River Convention was signed in 1852, permanent peace in the country was rendered impossible. Yet we must not censure too harshly the statesmen who framed that convention. They sincerely thought that they were doing what was best for both South Africa and the empire, and the temper of the nation at that time was such that any other course would have been extremely difficult. Still, they cannot be acquitted of all blame, for they ought to have had more foresight ; they should have endeavoured to understand the situation more clearly, and to teach those whom they professed to guide. Above all, they should not have shown, chiefly for reasons of supposed economy, an unwillingness to incur responsibility which can hardly be distinguished from cowardice. When, in 1854, the Orange River sovereignty was abandoned, a more reprehensible act was done. With two republics in the interior, formed by men of the same race which then constituted an overwhelming majority in the two colonies, Dutch and British being what they are, a contest for supremacy became inevitable. This view is not the result of recent experience.

The contest was foreseen and foretold by Sir George Grey and by President Brand. Complete reunion has now been effected under the British flag. The adherence of the Free State to the hostile policy of the Transvaal will be more than compensated for by the resultant good. Had one Dutch Republic remained, it would have proved, inevitably, a centre of disaffection and unrest. Now there is a clear basis on which a better future may be built.

The chief cause of past failure can be easily explained. It is lack of continuity, of consistency. Change after change has taken place in British policy. The Cape was first occupied in 1795. When peace was made, in 1803, it was given back to Holland. War soon broke out again in Europe, and, early in 1806, the Cape was taken a second time by great Britain. There was good reason for the withdrawal of British rule in 1803; nevertheless, it had a bad effect on the native mind. After the peace of 1814, an agreement was entered into with the Government of the Netherlands, by which, for the sum of six million pounds sterling, the Cape was formally ceded to Great Britain, with some other Dutch possessions in South America. Thus, as the result both of conquest and of purchase, the Cape Colony, then much smaller than it is now, became part of the British Empire.

Soon afterwards began that prolonged course of vacillation which, down to a very recent date, has marked the conduct of the Imperial Government in South Africa. Advancing and retiring, annexing and abandoning, laxity and severity, have alternated with astonishing frequency. Dr. Farrelly rightly speaks of "a century of vacillation." It would be a thankless task to enumerate all the withdrawals and reversals which have taken place in the Cape Colony, Natal, Free State, Transvaal, Kaffirland, Basutoland, Zululand. The most conspicuous instance, and the most fruitful in consequences, is of course to be found in the history of our dealings with the Transvaal, which was retroceded in 1881, after the most solemn declarations that it would be retained, made by the General in chief command, the

Colonial Secretary, the Prime Minister, and, above all, by the Sovereign at the opening of Parliament. Whether the retrocession was right or wrong does not affect the allegation of inconstancy. It has been shrewdly observed that, in nearly every case, South African territory has been annexed or occupied twice before being finally retained. Until recently this seemed to be almost a rule of action. No wonder that incertitude and misgiving prevailed in loyal circles, while great encouragement was given to those who had no love for England and her rule. At this moment our enemies are buoyed up by the hope, happily becoming feebler, that another change may ensue, and their independence be restored. Nor can we wonder, when sympathisers in South Africa and in Great Britain loudly proclaim that this course ought to be followed, and when the history of the past is remembered.

What, then, is needed is fixity of purpose, a definite and stable policy. The Imperial Government has, at last, evidently made up its mind that, for the future, the plan of playing fast and loose, doing and undoing, shall cease to be followed. Let all South Africa know that when a step forward is taken, it will not be succeeded by a step backward. Let every movement be well weighed; and when any measure has been decided on, let it be adhered to. This does not mean that no alteration, or even retraction, of any sort should ever occur; that would be obstinacy, not consistency. But if in any case it should come to be believed that a given course was unjustifiable, let us see to it that, in making what we deem due reparation to one party, we do not inflict deeper injury upon another. The retrocession of the Transvaal, in 1881, supplies a striking illustration of the neglect of this principle. In whatever way we may justly modify the policy of firmness, there can be no question that the vacillation shown throughout the greater part of a century in the administration of South African affairs, not only caused a deep and widespread feeling of distrust, it has also led to fearful bloodshed and suffering.

The South African settlement is one in which the whole

empire is interested. It is not a party question ; it is a national and an imperial question. Every part of the United Kingdom, every colony and province under the King's sway, has invested some of its best blood in the endeavour to determine once for all what the future of this country shall be. One of the most cheering features of the present situation is, that this fact is largely recognised. Most of the leaders of the party not in office hold substantially the same views as those in office, as to the necessity of annexation under present circumstances, whatever they may think of events that preceded. If the heads of both parties who are now practically agreed could meet together and devise measures for a settlement, it might well be to the advantage of South Africa and of the empire in days to come. Such joint action is not unknown. It has been adopted, occasionally, in matters of far less moment. But one of the two great parties is too divided in opinion on this subject to allow of any of its chiefs taking part in such a desirable combination.

A good deal has been said, both in England and in South Africa, with reference to possible readjustments of territory. Much of this talk is crude in the extreme, some of it mischievous. The Cape Colony, it is argued, ought to be divided, as it is now too large and powerful. Or, Natal, Transvaal, and Orange River Colony should be united in order to balance the Cape. The least thing that can be thought of is, the addition to Natal of considerable portions of the quondam Boer States. In consequence of all this imaginative assignment of territory, Natal has incurred a good deal of obloquy, especially with her neighbours, only a small part of which is really deserved. Her responsible politicians have not, so far, countenanced this idea of territorial aggrandisement at the expense of others.

Possibly some readjustments might be made with advantage. If the Cape could be divided into two colonies, the Western Province forming one and the Eastern Province the other, good results would follow. But it would not be easy to fix the dividing line ; and, no matter where it was

drawn, three-fourths, or four-fifths, of the native population would fall to the lot of Eastern Cape Colony. The idea of the separation of the East from the West is an old one, and was advocated with great earnestness by the Easterns forty years ago. This was, however, before the annexation of Kaffirland, in which so many of the native tribes are found. Still, it is possible that the Eastern Province might even now, despite the added responsibility, be more than willing to become a separate colony. But the consent of the Cape Parliament would be necessary, for we may be quite sure that the Imperial Government will not make such an arrangement by an exercise of arbitrary power. As to Natal, it has been maintained that all the passes of the Drakensberg should be in her hands, with the districts of Utrecht and Vrijheid, both of which really should have belonged to her. Griqualand East, and Pondoland, east of St. John's River, have also been claimed. The situation has changed in regard to the passes, since the annexation of the two republics; but, to have made military use of them from below, powerful garrisons would have been required. This range of mountains can easily be held by a force operating on the plateau or inland side, but only with difficulty on the seaward side. Adding territory to Natal on the north would increase the Dutch element, and on the south the Native element; and it is very doubtful whether any sufficiently compensating advantages would be gained.

Much may doubtless be said in favour of the suggestion that the Transvaal and Orange River Colony should be united under one administration, forming thus a Northern and a Southern Province. The area and population would still be less than that of the Cape Colony. There would be a more equal balancing of British and Dutch elements, if such an arrangement were carried out; and the "closer union," so much desired by Transvaalers and Free Staters, would then be an accomplished fact, though under different conditions. True, Natal would be apparently dwarfed by such an arrangement; but it would not even then be the Rhode Island of the South African family. No other

serious interference with existing boundaries is likely to be made by the Imperial Government, and even that is scarcely probable. It is, however, possible that adjustments may in time be effected by mutual agreement.

We may safely assume that the Imperial Government will not at once set forth a complete and elaborate scheme for the government and administration of the conquered territories. A cut-and-dried paper plan providing for both present and future is not in accordance with British genius or traditions. Perhaps as a people we are sometimes at fault in waiting too much upon opportunity, and so being often unready to meet emergencies. But the fault is preferable to that of always having on hand a fully developed project to which events are expected to conform. A general, well defined, and decided course of action is in this case undoubtedly required, leaving details to be determined by circumstances as they arise.

Already an announcement has been made in outline of the policy intended to be pursued. First, there is to be a period of military rule, which, we may feel sure, will not be prolonged further than is deemed necessary for the peace of the country. No other method could with safety be adopted. When the Boers cease to offer active resistance, we may take it for granted that the military régime will cease. It is sure to prove irksome even to the most loyal, for Englishmen are not used to it. Great tact and judgment are required in its application. British military officers have had unrivalled experience in the government of Asiatics, Africans, and other coloured races, civilised and uncivilised; but they have not had the same opportunity of showing their skill in ruling large bodies of Europeans accustomed to freedom and independence. We may confidently assume that for financial reasons, as well as for reasons of general policy, the Imperial Government will not be disposed to continue military administration when the safety of the country no longer requires it.

Next, there is to be what is termed Crown Colony rule. With this South Africans are familiar. It existed, in one
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form or another, in the Cape Colony until 1872, and came to an end in Natal (or almost so) in 1893. But there are different kinds of Crown Colonies. Some are wholly under the control of Imperial officials and nominees, and to these the designation properly belongs. Others have legislatures partly official and partly elective, the proportion between the two elements varying in different cases. These are, properly, Semi-Crown Colonies. The Cape and Natal passed through both these stages before obtaining a full constitution and responsible government. In Natal the Upper House, or Legislative Council, is nominated ; but in the Cape both Assembly and Council are elected. We do not yet know what method will be adopted in the new possessions, but it is likely that a measure of elective representation will be accorded as soon as practicable. It may be that the Imperial Government has not yet made up its mind on various points, and will decide according to circumstances.

When the proper time comes, there are to be representative institutions in the fullest sense ; that is, presumably, responsible government with a legislature wholly elective. Some contend that this state of things should immediately follow the close of the régime now in force. But the sudden transition from purely military rule to full self-government is without example, and might prove in this case highly perilous. There must be gradual training, and proof given of fitness ; while, at the same time, confidence must be shown by the supreme authority, and the period of probation must not be unduly prolonged. All Anglo-Saxons know what self-government implies. It means, as President Lincoln put it in his terse way, "the government of the people, by the people, for the people." That is the ideal and aim ; not yet perfectly attained, but realised more fully amongst men of the Anglo-Saxon race than amongst any other. The Dominion of Canada, with its various provinces ; the newly founded Commonwealth of Australia, with its several states,—these manage their own affairs, having in each case local governments with a central

or Federal Government. There are also self-governing colonies, not yet belonging to any such union, as Newfoundland, New Zealand, Cape Colony, and Natal. A South African Confederation has been talked of for twenty-five years or more ; but, while it is nearer than it was, it is not yet in immediate sight. Now, this idea of fully organised, self-controlling communities, subject only to the veto of a supreme imperial power, a veto very seldom exercised, and limited to certain specified matters, is a new thing in the history of mankind. It is an idea gradually worked out by the practical and adaptive genius of the Anglo-Saxon ; acted upon at first with some degree of uncertainty and even of misgiving, but proved now to be admirably suited to the habits and aspirations of our race, and of the greatest advantage to the whole empire.

Strange as the statement may seem at first sight, there is a possibility that the Transvaal will be ready for full self-government before the adjoining colony is ready. The former is likely to have very soon an overwhelming majority, so far as Europeans are concerned, of people belonging to the British race, and amongst them men of high intelligence and education. On the other hand, the Orange River Colony will remain, unless extensive mines are found, an agricultural and pastoral country, and the Dutch population will continue to preponderate. But it is in every way desirable that the two new colonies should march together, if it is found to be safe. In the event of their being united, the difficulty above mentioned will disappear.

Let it be borne in mind that, while the Boers were a self-governing people, theirs was not, as we understand it, full representation, or responsible government. It was racial representation, and oligarchical government, in the Transvaal. Every burgher's son became a burgher at sixteen years of age, whether he had any property or none, any education or none. Of late years it was made almost impossible for any outsider to obtain burgher rights, unless by special favour of the governing powers. In the Free State, for various reasons, a better tone prevailed. Near the

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beginning of its history it was for six years a British colony. It always had a British element which, though small, was powerful in intelligence and character. For nearly a quarter of a century it had, as President, Jan Hendrik Brand, one of the noblest of South Africans, generous and far-seeing, a lover of his own people and of mankind. From the first the Free State Boers were more law-abiding than their adventurous and reckless brethren beyond the Vaal. But for some time a change had been going on, suspicions arose, race hatred was fostered, and at length a close alliance was entered into with the Transvaal, a change mainly due to the influence of the Pretoria oligarchy and of the Afrikaner Bond. During the war the Free Staters, who had no ground of quarrel, have shown a persistent bitterness at least equal to that of the Transvaalers. Had there been no war (that is, for the present), there is every reason to believe that the Orange Free State would have assimilated its policy to that of the more powerful republic. One of the great errors committed in the Convention of 1884 was the permission given to the Transvaal and Free State to conclude whatever treaties they pleased with each other uncontrolled in the slightest degree by Great Britain. We see now the result of that generous concession to Dutch sentiment.

Whose views and interests should be first of all considered in the coming settlement? One may hope that the Imperial Government will be so guided that its decisions will promote the pacification of the whole country and the weal of all its people. But there are some whose claims are entitled to regard before those of others, though not, of course, to the injury of the rest. Who are they? The natural answer is: loyal South Africans, English and Dutch, who have risked all and suffered greatly for their adherence to the Crown. One would imagine, beforehand, that no other answer could be given. But South African affairs seem often to be judged by a standard wholly different from that which is commonly deemed sensible and right. The opinion has been openly maintained that a particular class, or rather race, of men should be primarily

considered, not for what they have done, but for what they have not done. They did not rebel, and must be rewarded for their self-denial. Oddly enough, the complaint is made that the Dutch have been hitherto disregarded, a complaint which all South African history shows to be unfounded. Mr. J. A. Hobson, one of the spokesmen of this party, says :

The Dutch Afrikaner population and their leaders must be heard with respect and sympathy, not as a concession but as a right. The fatuous folly which has, by charges of disloyalty, sought to evoke the very spirit which it exorcises must be abandoned. The Cape Ministry, chosen by the majority of the people, and the experienced leaders of that part of the population which recognises South Africa as "home" and has lived in it for generations, must no longer be set aside, ignored, and openly flouted in favour of a clique of councillors, mostly newcomers, and all with interests opposed to those of the people at large.¹

The ministry referred to in this extract was the Bond ministry, since dismissed by its own supporters, because it desired to bring in a Bill to disfranchise for five years open and convicted rebels. Some members of the Bond party, to their credit be it said, did not support the rest, and so enabled the Progressive ministry, which would otherwise have been in a minority, to pass the Treason Bill, with other measures, and to carry on the business of the country. Here it may be said, in passing, that under the law as it stood treason was regarded as a capital offence, and perpetual disfranchisement was the least penalty. What the Bond and its real leaders wanted was, that no punishment at all should be inflicted for the acts of treason recently committed ; and yet we are told that "the Dutch Afrikaner population and their leaders must be heard with respect and sympathy." That the views of the loyal Dutch must be duly taken into account, and, what is more, the views of the Dutch who have not been proved to be disloyal, is what

¹ Pages 314, 315.

every right-minded Briton will at once admit. But that is a different thing from practically allowing the Dutch of the Cape Colony to decide for themselves and for everybody else what shall be the future of South Africa, and the policy of the empire in relation to South Africa. Is the position of Natal with five-sixths of its white population British to be determined by the Bond majority at the Cape, if indeed it be a majority? If the Bond party had been allowed, eighteen months ago, to rule the issue, there would certainly have been no war just at present, but it would have come some time, unless the whole country were abandoned by the Imperial Government. If their advice had been taken, the claims of the Uitlanders would not have been pressed, grievances would have remained in full force, the relations between the two races would have been increasingly embittered, and the whole country kept in a state of continual ferment, to which sooner or later only one ending would have been possible.

Many who write and speak on South African affairs are evidently under the impression that all the Dutch in Cape Colony and Natal are of one mind. That the great majority of them sympathise, more or less, with their brethren across the border must be frankly admitted. Assuming the contrary can do no good. Not a few have been guilty of actual treason; others have cherished treason in their hearts, and uttered as much of it as they dared, though they have prudently refrained from overt acts. But there is a worthy minority, consisting of intelligent and far-seeing men, who sympathised with the Uitlander cause and with British policy in regard to it. Many volunteers bearing Dutch names have fought on the side of the empire, though they were not constrained to bear arms against men of their own race. In this respect the conduct of the British was very different from that of the Boers. Many in the Transvaal and Free State fought unwillingly on the Boer side, and, in a few cases at least, burghers refused to fight against the British, great as the risk of refusal was. And it is highly probable that if an indubitable assurance could have been

given that Great Britain would not again retract its policy, a far larger number would have taken this course.

For years it was a common saying in South Africa, "It does not pay to be loyal." The proverb was a bitter one, and the chief element of bitterness was in its truth. Illustrations of it are numerous in the history of the country. When the Orange River Territory was abandoned in 1854, those who protested against the act, and clung passionately to the Imperial (alas! one can hardly say the maternal) skirts, were officially described as "disaffected." Those who disliked England and her rule, and who cheerfully aided the British Commissioner to get rid of it, were said to be "well disposed." Even prior to that date the South African loyalist had suffered much for his attachment to the old flag, and since then has suffered still more. Whatever the merits or demerits of the Great Retrocession in 1881, the loyalists, both Dutch and British, had to encounter shame and loss without obtaining any sympathy. In the tempest of emotion which then ensued, some, including a few British, abandoned all hope of Imperial protection, and made the best terms they could with the triumphant Boers. Can anybody greatly blame them? But the great majority of Britons, much as they had suffered, would not relinquish all trust in the mother country, and in the eventual return of happier days. These circumstances are not recalled for the purpose of reviving old controversies, but simply to explain the true position of things in South Africa.

"It does not pay to be loyal." The cry ought to make the ears of some to tingle. Yet it must not be misunderstood. After all, it was more sad than bitter. It was the wail of wounded affection rather than a sarcastic and indignant proverb. Have South African Britons proved disloyal? They are as loyal as any of the subjects of the empire; nay, they are the most loyal of all! For they have had more to try their loyalty; and, until quite recently, their devotion has been unrecognised. They have fought and bled for their sovereign and home as no other colonists have been required to do. Not that in themselves they are more

worthy than the rest ; others would have done the like had there been the same necessity. And now, South Africans, Britons and others, who have been true to the old flag, are receiving their reward. The whole empire has risen as one man, and come to their aid. Homeborn Britons, colonists from every quarter, men of all ranks, even the highest, have given their lives to redress grievances, to secure liberty and justice, to maintain the rights and the majesty of the British Empire. South Africans may well feel a sincere and lofty pride, when they think that through them, and for them, the vast dominions of the King have been united together in a closer bond than was ever known before. And if the settlement now impending is of the right kind, there ought to be, and will be, in the loyal South African heart, a sentiment more honourable even than that of just pride, a sentiment of gratitude to those who direct the affairs of the empire, and to the whole nation at home and abroad.

What we say, then, is, that the parties to be first considered are the loyal people of South Africa. That is not the view of writers like Mr. Hobson. He devotes a whole chapter to "Dutch feeling in the Colony," but British feeling is not worthy of mention. Now, this is obviously unjust, and would be so even if every Dutchman had proved absolutely loyal. Other writers of the same school have told the refugee British colonists, who have been expelled and plundered, that they have received the due reward of their deeds. They wanted war, and it came ; although the majority of the sufferers were women and children, or inoffensive men who had taken no part in politics. Of such partisans as these it may be said, with little or no exaggeration, that if the Boer had lived, and all we had died this day, then it had pleased them well.

When, however, we contend that the first consideration should be given to the loyalists, it is not meant that everything they, or anyone of them, may ask should be granted. Many foolish letters have been written to newspapers, many unreasonable and even impossible demands made. But what is meant is, that while, in accordance with the traditions

of British policy, every consideration consistent with safety should be shown to our enemies, and to those who have aided them in arms or otherwise, the true interests of loyal colonists, and their wishes also, when reasonable, should be deemed of primary importance. Despite what hot-headed and loud-voiced individuals may say—most of them sincere and really good-hearted—the leaders of loyal opinion in South Africa, with few if any exceptions, are in favour of a policy of fairness and conciliation. The action taken at the recent meeting of the South African League in Cape Town, with reference to the language and other questions, shows what the true feeling is. There is no real cry for revenge, though there may be frequent complaints over what is deemed, rightly or wrongly, undue leniency.

Speaking of the two methods of severity and conciliation, Mr. J. A. Buttery says :

In my humble opinion it would be worse than folly to play fast and loose between the two. If you hold the olive branch in one hand and the rod in the other, only disorder and uncertainty can result.¹

The writer's meaning is not quite clear. It might seem as if in his opinion severity only should be used, though what he afterwards says indicates that a policy of unmixed harshness could hardly be in his mind. He tells us that the Governor of the Transvaal should be a "strong, fair-minded man"; not "an extremist, either too timid or too violent in his methods." Fairness and firmness may not be exactly symbolised by the olive branch and the rod, but they are not altogether misrepresented. Dr. Farrelly strikes a truer and deeper note, when he declares that "the conciliation of Dutch sentiment towards the Imperial Government, as far as compatible with Imperial supremacy, must inevitably find place."² What is needed is strict justice, unswerving firmness, genuine kindness and considerateness; in other words, a definite, resolute, and yet generous policy.

¹ Page 189.

² Page 233.

The Native question looms large in all these discussions. It is so important and so complex that a whole article would not be too much to devote to it ; but present space will admit of a brief reference only. The statement has frequently been made, and by some who fully approve of the war, that England's chief duty in South Africa is to look after the interests of the aborigines. It is not so. Her first duty is towards her own children, who have gone forth with her full consent, and under her protection, to found new homes over the sea—children who still love her, and cannot do without her. An equal, or almost equal, obligation is due to those of various races and colours who, while they did not spring from her, were born under, and have ever remained faithful to, her flag. To the Natives generally, however, the Imperial Power does certainly owe a solemn duty, placed as they are by Providence under its peculiar charge. They respect and trust Great Britain. Not so fully, it may be, as they did twenty-five years ago ; but the old feeling of confidence is returning. Strange to say, intelligent natives in the Transvaal believed, in the simplicity of their faith, that some day the country would again come under British rule ; and they held to this view when the English themselves, or the great majority of them, had given up all such expectation.

Nothing can be more misleading than Mr. Hobson's contention, that the natives who have recently been brought again under British rule will be no better off than they were before. The capitalists and the colonists together will, he tells us, oppress them, force them to work, and deny to them their just rights. In fact, it is a question whether their state under the Boers was not preferable to that in which they are likely to be henceforth. Now, if we had no experience to guide us, there might be some excuse for this kind of argument ; though, even in that case, the government of dark-skinned races elsewhere by the British might cause us to doubt it. But there is an object lesson presented in the Cape Colony and Natal. Very different is the condition of natives in these two provinces of the empire from

that which existed in the Transvaal or even in the Orange Free State. In one case the natives are free men, though subject to special laws in certain instances, on account of the uncivilised state of the majority ; men with full civil rights, some having full political rights. More than that, they have the path of progress fully open to them. In the other case, they had few civil rights, no political rights ; nothing was done for their education or improvement, with a trifling exception in the Free State. They were serfs at the best, and often practically slaves. How anybody, with the least knowledge of existing facts, can argue that no improvement will ensue in the status and prospects of the African in consequence of the war is indeed passing strange.

That a sudden and complete revolution will take place in the condition of the natives is neither probable nor desirable. It would do them no good ; it would do everybody harm. They will, of course, under the British flag, cease at once to be serfs. They will have even-handed justice dealt out to them in the courts of law. Those who have become more or less civilised, under missionary or other influences, will no doubt be the first to feel the advantage of the great change. But to imagine that thousands of mere barbarians can be suddenly transformed into full-fledged citizens is to imagine the ridiculous if not the impossible. Caution will have to be exercised in dealing with multitudes of uncivilised people suddenly emancipated from a heavy yoke. There are in South Africa many trained European administrators, thoroughly acquainted with the native languages and customs, and whom the natives can fully trust. When the Transvaal was taken over in 1881, too much consideration was shown to Dutch sentiments and prejudices in regard to native matters ; but that is no reason for giving needless offence now. By gradual, careful, sincere, and earnest methods the aborigines must be raised in the scale of civilisation. Under the former régime they could only progress in spite of the Government ; now, the Government must help them as far as possible.

The memorable dispatch, written by Lord Stanley to the Governor of the Cape, Sir George Napier, and dated December 13, 1842, gave the key-note of British policy, and furnished the Charter of Native Rights. Natal had just been occupied by our troops, and the Boers were told that they must comply with certain conditions which were based upon this dispatch, and embodied in a Proclamation issued on May 12, 1843. One of these reads thus :

There shall not in the eye of the law be any distinction of persons or disqualification, founded on mere distinction of colour, origin, language, or creed ; but that the protection of the law, in letter and in substance, shall be extended to all alike.

The Dutch were unwilling to accept this, but had to submit. Another clause forbade any aggression upon natives outside the colony ; and a third prohibited "slavery in any shape or under any modification." We may feel assured that these principles will be at once applied in the administration of affairs in the newly annexed territories. They may be, as they have been, imperfectly carried out in some instances, but they have formed the basis of British administration ever since the Emancipation Act in 1834.

The Ninth Article of the Transvaal Grondwet, formally adopted in 1858, but acted upon long before, is as follows :

The people will not allow of any equality between coloured and white inhabitants either in Church or in State.

A law so unjust and unchristian cannot continue to exist. The Free State had no article of this character embodied in its Constitution ; but the principle contained in it was acted upon, although the lot of the native was in some respects better than in the Transvaal. Henceforth British law, honestly and carefully applied, must determine the position and rights of the black and coloured people in the new provinces. The example of the Cape Colony will, probably, in due time be followed, but with a most important exception. Strict regulations with respect to strong drink will have to be adopted, as in Natal and Rhodesia. They existed

in the Transvaal and Free State, but were in the former practically a dead letter. It is to be hoped, also, that measures will be taken, as soon as possible, to provide for the education, in various ways, of the native inhabitants, who in times past have been shamefully neglected, and have received only such instruction as outside means and agencies could supply.

Other questions of moment will also have to be dealt with. The status of British Indians is one of the most difficult, and may ultimately cause as much trouble as any other. South Africa suits the natives of India; they prosper in it and increase. They are industrious and persevering, which the African as a rule is not, and the consequence is that the latter has been in many ways supplanted by the former. In some cases land once occupied, and even owned, by Kaffirs has been taken possession of by "Coolies." When these were brought into Natal, to supply much-needed labour, they were followed ere long by "Arabs," "Banians," and other "children of the East," most of whom are engaged in trade. The position of foreigners generally, and especially of those who have shown themselves inimical to the rights and interests of Great Britain, will also require careful thought and dealing. Space does not admit of even a brief discussion of these intricate problems. The whole situation bristles with difficulties, and demands the greatest wisdom and patience.

Reference may be allowed to certain matters of a somewhat delicate nature, which may be counted of minor importance; but they are essential to a right issue. One of these is the personal attitude and bearing of the officials to be appointed in the new territories. The tranquil settlement of the country will in no small measure depend upon the demeanour of those who are placed in high office. Many writers have referred to this subject. There have been, and are, servants of the Crown in South Africa whose urbanity could not be surpassed, but others have shown a strange want of tact and considerateness. When a country Boer, once accustomed perhaps to drink coffee with his

President, offers to shake hands with an official and is refused, the slight will never be forgiven. To speak frankly, both British and Dutch colonists, the civilian and the volunteer, could easily compile a list of grievances under this head. They may often be lacking in polish and perfect taste, they may think rather too highly of themselves in some cases, and may want to take up too much time; but they are well meaning, they often know what the official does not know, and all their interests are in the country. Very able and well meaning men, in the army and in the Civil Service, have, in not a few cases, diminished if not destroyed their influence for good by their insuavity.

Another point of at least equal delicacy may be touched upon, and that is the attitude which ought to be assumed by those in authority towards all religious denominations. Some officials are apt to overlook the fact that there is no Established Church in South Africa. Even at home the Anglican Communion has ceased to be the Church of even half the religious part of the nation. And while it is established in England, the Presbyterian Church is established in Scotland. Men in high places still speak of "Nonconformists," if not of "Dissenters," although such terms have no application in this country. Naturally a Governor, or Officer Commanding, will select a clergyman of his own Church for the discharge of certain functions; but that is no reason why, as sometimes happens, the clergy of other Churches should on every occasion be ignored. Some of his Majesty's servants are very careful and tactful in such matters, but not all of them. The Dutch Reformed Church is by far the largest in the country; equal, or nearly so, to all the rest put together. Although it has assumed a hostile attitude, when peace comes it should be treated in the spirit of conciliation. All the Churches must be placed on a footing of equality; not only legally, that they are sure to be, but also in official communications and dealings. In South Africa, at the present moment, only about one-fifth of the European population belongs to the Anglican Communion.

The works mentioned at the head of this article may all

be studied with advantage. Mr. Buttery, as he tells us, has been "behind the Boer scenes," and sheds a good deal of light on what was going on there. No condemnation can be more severe than that which he passes on the government and diplomacy of the Boers. Mr. Hobson's book contains about all that can be said on the Dutch side. His brief visit to the Transvaal before the war enabled him to learn something of the methods in use there, and if he could have stayed longer he would have learnt more. But the utter one-sidedness of the book is continually shown when any reference to British policy is made. The author argues that as the state of things prior to the war cannot, unhappily, be restored, "the best settlement will be that which approaches nearest to this *status quo ante*." Such is the impotent and absurd conclusion to which a clever writer, who is no politician, allows himself to be led.

The Settlement after the War in South Africa is one of the very ablest works which the present crisis has called forth. On the legal aspects of the questions involved, it is quite the ablest. The author is an Irishman, a lawyer of great ability and repute. For about three years he acted as "Advisory Counsel" to the Transvaal Government. It is no secret now that the able dispatch, dated April 16, 1898, and denying the claim of suzerainty, though signed by Dr. Leyds, was really his work. Most people were under the impression, prior to the war, that Dr. Farrelly was a Boer sympathiser, but this book shows that he was a fair and faithful counsellor. A few extracts will explain what his views are :

The goal, held steadily in view, was the establishing of an independent nation, ruling all South Africa.¹

I came to South Africa fully prepared to give credence to the theory of a "Capitalist Plot" should I find evidence to sustain it. . . . The patient investigation of some years has convinced me that there was no such inception to the Uitlander agitation.²

Independence means Dutch independence, of a Dutch-ruled

¹ Page 76.

² Page III.

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State, in which the resident foreigner cannot become a citizen. Defence means defence of the rule of a privileged race. No aggression on the British power means no present aggression; only aggression at a favourable opportunity.¹

In October, 1898, after many doubts and long inquiry, I realised the real trend—notwithstanding the most pacific professions—of the Afrikaner movement. It meant war. The question was one only of time.²

The High Commissioner's policy was the sole one that made for peace.³

No separate existence outside the empire can be left to the Boer States. Like causes would produce like effects in the future as in the present. Annexation of the territories must be absolute.⁴

There are many other passages equally strong. On one important point Dr. Farrelly's views are gravely at fault. He appears to favour Boer sentiments regarding the Natives rather than British. He would treat them with justice, but does not seem alive to the duty of doing what is possible for their elevation and advancement.

The chief hindrance to a pacific settlement is to be found in the agitation now carried on, in the Cape Colony and in Great Britain, by those who favour the Boer cause. They are still urging that the annexations should be again annulled and independence again restored. This movement has wrought unspeakable evil already, and is producing more every day. An awful responsibility rests upon the agitators, male and female, and is not diminished by the fanatical sincerity with which the crusade is maintained. The cry of "Stop the War!" as addressed to the British Government and people, means when its echoes reach the Boers, "Go on with the War!" and they still go on. To fan the flame of race hatred, to denounce the Imperial Government as the incarnation of tyranny, injustice, and cruelty, to encourage both men and women to continue a murderous and futile resistance, is a strange occupation for any who owe allegiance to the King.

¹ Page 163.

² Page 177.

³ Page 206.

⁴ Page 231.

Light is breaking over the hills, near and distant. South Africa has weathered many a stormy crisis ; and even this, terrible as it is, will pass away. The country has wonderful recuperative power. Its vast resources are only beginning to be known. Racial differences have been accentuated of late years, but special causes have been at work to produce or increase them. Explain it how we may, it is a fact, and has been pointed out, that Dutch and British in South Africa fraternise more readily with each other than either of them does with people of any other race. Fusion will not come at once, nor is it desirable as yet, for reasons that could be given. But it will come in time, and there will be a great Anglo-Dutch nation in South Africa, strong in itself, and loyal to the Imperial British flag. The most difficult task of the future will be to harmonize Dutch and English views in regard to natives ; but the growth of modern, humane, and Christian sentiments will bring about the desired result. A better future is before the Native himself, with duly recognised rights, and with the opportunity of rising to the fullest elevation of educational, political, and religious manhood. His progress will depend upon his industry and self-control. If, as we believe will be the case, the final issue of this war, the costliest and bloodiest waged by Great Britain for eighty-five years, should be the union of the two ruling races in South Africa, and the elevation of the native people, the sacrifices made will not have been made in vain.

FREDERICK MASON.

**THE LIFE-WORK OF
FREDERIC W. H. MYERS.**

A REVIEW.

I.

ON the 17th of January last there passed away at Rome one who was so intimately connected with one of the most characteristic movements of our time that his life and work call for more than a passing obituary notice. Yet of the outer life of Frederic William Henry Myers there is at present little to tell—little, indeed, that is known beyond the intimate circle of personal acquaintance. But he has left an autobiography which we may hope will shortly see the light, and then perhaps we shall know more of the outward facts, as of the inner secret, of a life which, as we knew it in its public work, seemed so gracious and attractive. Meanwhile only the barest facts are public property.

Born at Kendal in 1843, the son of a well known clergyman, Frederic Myers, who in later life brought so scholarly a judgment and so sympathetic an insight to the study of Wordsworth, passed his early years amid the very scenes which the prophet-like genius of the great poet of the Lakes has rendered for ever sacred to English letters and to English thought. He was educated at Cheltenham and Cambridge, and there laid, broad and deep, the foundations of that generous, humane, classical culture which shows our English university system at its best, and which gave so graceful a charm and so catholic a spirit to the work of his ripper manhood. Afterwards, the accidents of an academic career brought him into close personal relations with Prince Leopold, and he has enshrined for us the memory of an

all-too-brief life of singular attraction and promise in one of the sincerest and most winning eulogies ever written about one in so high a station. Of the details of his later life the public knows little. He became one of her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools under the Education Department; but a Civil Service career ordinarily contributes few materials for biography, and as a rule gives yet fewer opportunities for work that becomes a remembered and recorded part of history, and, had not wider interests claimed him, Frederic Myers would probably have passed away quite unknown beyond a small circle of personal and official acquaintances.

These wider interests Myers found in literature, and in the new science, for such it must be called, of Psychical Research. Of these the literary interest was the earlier, but, graceful and scholarly though Myers's purely literary work undoubtedly is, catholic in its sympathy and helpful in its judgments, it was not his fortune to win from literature a fame such as made his colleague, Matthew Arnold, immortal. Nor is the reason for this in the least obscure. Arnold brought to the awakening thought of a new day the guidance of a broad, sane humanism. He was the representative of a new spirit, of a new criticism of life and thought, and literature was the aptest medium for his work. Myers faced those deeper issues of doubt which remain when all has been said that can be said, and he faced them, not with new words, but with new facts. It was in the criticism of fact that he became laureate, and not in the criticism of thought, and his fame is that of a pioneer of new knowledge, not that of the advocate of a new opinion.

II.

"If a man die, shall he live again?" It was this old-world question that gave to Myers the absorbing interest of his riper years. Brought face to face with it by his own participation in the characteristic intellectual movements of his time, he felt it to be the central problem not only for himself, but for the race,—the critical question which,

according as we answer it, will determine for us the ultimate value of human life, of all that men hope, fear, and strive after.

Love is the crown of life, and few save the greatest have spoken of its supremacy with more persuasive insight than Myers; but if this earthly life be the only life for which man is born, is even the life of love worth the living? Nay, if the hope of immortality depart, can even love remain—love, that is, in the form in which it is most truly itself, in its noblest chivalry and most sacred tenderness?

To this, Myers answers with an unmistakable "No!" Not only love, but all the goodness and strength of life, depend ultimately on man's hope for a future beyond the grave; and if that hope die down, the glory of life departs. That it *has* died down in this our modern world Myers is quite clear about. Natural science has not so much disproved it, as killed it by effectually disregarding it. She has built up a system of practical and verifiable certainties—or of what look like such certainties—in which spiritual conceptions seem to have no place, and has presented to man an apparently demonstrated *Welt-Anschauung* which has no room for God, the human soul, or the life everlasting.¹

Now, if hope is to be restored to the world, it must, says Myers, be by the same hands that have extinguished it. Our present need, he urges, is "not of speculation, but of evidence. The world is tired of philosophy, and unconvinced by history. Nothing but hard facts—facts of present-day experience—can hope to convince it." Nineteen centuries ago "the appearance of Jesus to the faithful after His apparent death altered in their eyes the aspect of the world. So decisive was the settlement of the old alternative, either Providence or atoms, which was effected by the firm conviction of a single spirit's beneficent return along the silent and shadowy way. So powerful a reinforcement to faith and

¹ In this connexion the essays on "The Disenchantment of France," "Tennyson as Prophet," and "Modern Poets and Cosmic Law," will well repay reading. They are contained in the volume which takes its name from the opening essay on *Science and a Future Life*.

love was afforded by the third of the Christian trinity of virtues—by the grace of Hope.”¹

But Christian evidences have been thrown into the searching alembic of historical criticism, and it is mere matter of fact to say that to many minds their strength is broken. To Myers, at least, they ceased to appeal with their old force. “After deriving much happiness from Christian faith,” he said in his presidential address last year to the Society for Psychical Research, “I felt myself forced by growing knowledge to recognise that the evidence for that culminant instance of spirit-return was not adequate as standing alone, to justify conviction. I did honestly surrender that great joy, although its loss was more grievous to me than anything else which has happened to me in life.”

But if philosophy and history alike fail, where can the world find a renewal of its hope? The only possibility that Myers sees, not only from the nature of the problem, but from the predominant temper of the time, lies with science. The modern spirit, Myers feels, will take serious cognisance of nothing but facts, such facts as it can see and verify for itself.

Even the best and wisest would prefer to rest their practical philosophy upon a basis of ascertained facts. And for the “hard-headed artisan,” “the sceptical inquirer,” the myriads of stubborn souls to which Christianity has a message to bring—for such men facts are everything, and philosophy without facts is a sentimental dream. They will never cease to desire actual evidence of another world which may develop the faculties, prolong the affections, redress the injustices of this.²

The following lines, taken from the essay on Mazzini, express Myers’s settled conviction :

If in an exact age we are to attain to any conclusive knowledge of an unseen world, we must attain it by an increased power of accurately apprehending unseen forces—by experiment rather than by tradition, by scientific rather than by historical inquiry.³

¹ *Essays—Classical*, p. 217. ² *Essays—Modern*, p. 224. ³ *Ibid.*, p. 62.

The establishment of the Society for Psychical Research seemed to Myers to afford a prospect that these high matters would at last receive adequate scientific study. Yet it was in no spirit of enthusiasm that he entered upon these new paths, but rather, as he himself tells us in the presidential address already quoted, "with little hope—nay, almost with reluctant scorn, but with the feeling that no last chance of the great discovery should be thrown aside." *Solvitur ambulando*. His confidence in the new methods soon increased, and in a few years we find him writing thus :

So far from our living, as some would tell us, in an age which has had to relinquish all hope of deeper knowledge, further light upon the chief concerns of man, we are living in an age when fruitful methods of experiment are just becoming possible ; when we have just learnt enough of easier problems to begin to interpret the faint indications which throw light on the highest problems of all.¹

To this new work, then, of critical observation and research, Myers unreservedly gave himself. He frankly admitted that the very keenness of his personal interest in the result brought with it its own special risks. "The danger, then, for our research will lie not in lack but in excess of motive, our minds may be biassed in their judgment of evidence by a deep instinctive desire."² Yet this, he thought,—the influence of "the wish to believe,"—might be not ineffectively guarded against. "For my own part," he continues, "I certainly cannot claim such impartiality as indifference might bring. From my earliest childhood—from my very first recollections—the desire for eternal life has immeasurably eclipsed for me every other wish or hope. Yet *desire* is not necessarily *bias* ; and my personal history has convinced myself . . . that my wishes do not strongly warp my judgment—nay, that sometimes the very keenness of personal anxiety may make one afraid to believe, as readily as other men, that which one most longs for."³

¹ *Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research*, Vol. IV., p. 260.

² *Presidential Address*, 1900.

³ *Ibid.*

He was, indeed, never weary of urging upon his fellow-workers the need for absolute accuracy. The first duty of the society was to collect facts such as science could deal with, and, in the discharge of this duty, the severest canons of scientific investigation should be adhered to. It was in this particular that he found professed spiritualists weakest. "As a mere matter of fact, and without imputing blame to anyone, it may safely be said that no such persistent and organised presentation of spiritualistic phenomena has yet been attempted as is habitually demanded by the scientific world in matters of far less difficulty and importance."¹ But, although spiritualism was thus evidentially weak, it was profuse in psychical material, and one of the primary duties of the new society, as Myers conceived it, was to sift the wheat from the tares in the mass thus presented for acceptance. How this sifting was conducted may be gathered from the paper entitled "Resolute Credulity," in Volume XI. of the *Proceedings*.

This, then, was the work to which Myers devoted the leisure of his later life,—to collect trustworthy evidence in experimental psychology that should throw light on the intimate nature of man, in the hope, faint at first, but rapidly growing in clearness, that thereby light might also be thrown on the darkness beyond the grave. We have read why and in what spirit he gave himself to this new work. Let his own words tell us the result :

Now . . . after thirty years of such study as I have been able to give . . . I say to myself at last *Habes tota quod mente petisti*, "Thou hast what thine whole heart desired." . . . I recognise that for me this fresh evidence—while raising that great historic incident of the resurrection into new credibility,—has also filled me with a sense of insight and of thankfulness such as even my first ardent Christianity did not bestow.²

Years before, after comparatively short experience, he had declared his conviction that it is "to experimental psychology, to an analysis whose growing power we can as yet

¹ *Proceedings*, Vol. III., p. 63.

² *Presidential Address*, 1900.

hardly realise, that we must look for a slow but incontrovertible decision as to whether man be but the transitory crown of earth's fauna, between ice-age and ice-age, between fire and sea, or whether it may truly be that his evolution is not a terrestrial evolution at all, not bounded by polar solitudes, nor measured by the sun's march through heaven, but making for a vaster future, by inheritance from a remoter past."¹

This, or something like this, is, indeed, the alternative, and we have seen on which side of it Myers finally made his decision. The question immediately arises, "How was he led to that decision?" This virtually means, "What evidence did he find?"—and to this latter question we will at once address ourselves.

As we have already seen, Myers entered upon psychical research in order, if possible, to reach certain knowledge about man's destiny. He did not, however, immediately raise the direct question, "Do the dead return?" He commenced by studying human nature as we now have it, in order to ascertain whether man, in this present life, gives any indication of distinctively spiritual powers that might give him a *primâ facie* claim to immortality. He commenced by studying thought-transference, automatic writing, hypnotism, mesmerism. Evidence was soon sufficiently available as to the genuineness of the phenomena alleged under these several heads; but the facts being admitted, the question naturally arose, "How are they to be explained?" Now, many people, then as now, took easy refuge in spiritualism, and found in telepathy and automatic writing evidence which satisfactorily answered for them in the affirmative the great question, "If a man die, shall he live again?" Myers, however, while admitting that his investigations had by no means covered the whole ground, convinced himself that, for the restricted field he *had* studied, the phenomena were usually referable to human agency,—to human agency, that is, as distinct from spirit agency.

¹ *Proceedings*, Vol. IV., p. 20.

If the view taken in these papers be accepted, a very large proportion of the phenomena to which spiritualists are wont to appeal will be no longer available as evidence for any spiritual influence other than that of the spirits of living and breathing men.

The phenomena, however, which I have described by no means exhaust those which are alleged to occur in the course of graphic automatism. It is said that the handwriting of dead persons is sometimes reproduced; that sentences are written in languages of which the writer knows nothing, that facts unknown to anyone present are contained in the replies, that these facts are sometimes such as to point to some special person departed this life as their only conceivable source. If these things be so, they are obviously facts of the highest importance. Nor are we entitled to say that they are impossible.¹

Afterwards he became entirely convinced of the substantial truth of the spiritualistic interpretation of the residuary cases here referred to, but without altering his opinion about the simpler facts he first studied. Indeed, this early conception of automatic and unconscious action opened up to him a line of speculation and investigation which he made peculiarly his own, and along which he made his most characteristic and valuable contributions to knowledge and to thought.

The facts of automatic writing revealed unsuspected powers in man; they opened up, as it were, new depths in his being, and suggested the existence of genuine psychic activity below the level of ordinary waking consciousness. The facts of thought-transference, or telepathy, seemed, too, to show that this hidden side of human nature could be reached by means of which the ordinary physiology of the senses could give no account. From hypnotism, too, the facts observed in the simpler investigations received not only emphasis, but something like cohesion. Myers held that only a certain undefined and undefinable proportion of the "impressions" received by the soul in its daily expe-

¹ *Proceedings*, Vol. III., p. 62.

rience actually enter into the field of clear consciousness and become part of the ordinary current of memory. The others remain subconscious—that is, not below *consciousness*, but below the level of *clear consciousness*. Myers therefore called them subliminal, as being below the threshold. They are all, however, he held, recoverable. Given appropriate conditions, they may all emerge into our everyday conscious memory. Meanwhile, they hold each its own definite place in the subliminal memory. The subliminal part of consciousness is not a chaos—a limbo of unremembered impressions, held together in no order, and exercising no influence. Although subliminal truly, they truly belong to the subject—to the same subject to which the conscious states are relative. They are held together by their own subliminal memory. Together with the supraliminal conscious states they form one psychical *continuum*, and they colour the conscious life, and determine its activity, just as truly, although not so obtrusively, as the remembered supraliminal states.

"I hold," says Myers, "that every impression made on the organism (above some minimum which we cannot guess at), be it visual, auditory, or tactile, is in a certain sense remembered by some stratum of that organism, and is potentially capable of being reproduced in the primary memory."¹

The chain of memory of which our superficial self is master, and which in common parlance is spoken of as extending over the whole past life, is seen on closer inspection to be imperfect and interrupted in a high degree. For all men it omits the periods of infancy and sleep; for many men there are further gaps representing delirium, hypnotic trance, and various disturbances of consciousness.

And here again hypnotic experiment has made all the world familiar with a fact which until recent times could only have been inferred from a few scattered instances. This fact is that not only may these gaps in our superficial memory possess a chain of memory of their own, but that such secondary chain of memory is actually in some sense more continuous than the primary.

¹ *Proceedings*, Vol. VI., p. 191.

We all know that the hypnotised subject as a rule remembers waking life, but that the awakened subject as a rule has wholly forgotten the events of his hypnotic trance. The full significance of this fact . . . will appear more clearly as we proceed.¹

Precisely *what* events are retained in the supraliminal memory, and what remain subliminal, Myers regarded as determined by natural selection :

Who, even now, can maintain that there is any true psychological line of distinction between those processes which happen to rise above the threshold of an ordinary consciousness—which become super-liminal—and those processes which happen to remain sub-liminal throughout our whole bodily life. That threshold is itself, perhaps, the mere result of the survival of the fittest, and only marks off those vital processes which it was most important for our ancestors to be aware of from those vital processes which they could with comparative safety ignore.²

It follows from this that, except for the purposes directly subserved by natural selection, no kind of primacy can attach to the supraliminal consciousness. Myers illustrated this by the analogy of the contrast of our sleeping and waking states, which he thought had been differentiated, in the course of evolution, out of a primitive state which, strictly speaking, was probably neither one nor the other, but which, he thought, was more like sleep than vigilance.

Physiology at any rate hardly warrants us in speaking of our waking state as if that alone represented our true selves, and every deviation from it must at best be a mere interruption. Vigilance in reality is but one of two co-ordinate phases of our personality, which we have acquired or differentiated from each other during the stages of our long evolution. And just as these two states have come to co-exist for us in advantageous alternation, so also other states may come to co-exist with these, in response to new needs of the still evolving organism.³

I have said that the supraliminal and subliminal states together constitute a *continuum*, and, in a sense, this is true,

¹ *Proceedings*, Vol. VII., p. 303. ² *Ibid.*, p. 118. ³ *Ibid.*, Vol. IV., p. 509.

seeing that they are both relative to the same subject, and that the subliminal can, *ex hypothesi*, always cross the threshold. But continued experiments, more particularly in hypnotism, convinced Myers that subliminal states can become so organised, as it were, round centres of their own,—so definitely linked together by their own memory and cut off from the supraliminal consciousness,—as to attain a kind of independence. In other words, they at times form *secondary personalities*, underlying, as it were, the so-called “normal” self, and strictly speaking, of co-ordinate, though diverse, significance.

“The formation,” says Myers, “of a new personality, as of a new party, depends upon the number of psychical or parliamentary units which cohere, and the length of time for which they remain coherent. It may range from an *idée fixe*—which is a mere knot of fanatics—to a coalition which overthrows the government, as when Félide X’s secondary personality dethroned the first.”¹

The following passage well summarises his views on this important point :

I hold that hypnotism . . . may be regarded as constituting one special case which falls under a far wider category,—the category, namely, of *developments of a secondary personality*. I hold that we each of us contain the potentialities of many different arrangements of the elements of personality, each arrangement being distinguishable from the rest by differences in the chain of memory which pertains to it. The arrangement with which we habitually identify ourselves—what we call the normal or primary self—consists, in my view, of elements selected for us in the struggle for existence with special reference to the maintenance of ordinary physical needs, and is not necessarily superior in any other respect to the latent personalities which lie alongside it—the fresh combinations of our personal elements which may be evoked, by accident or design, in a variety to which we can at present assign no limit. I consider that dreams, with rational somnambulism, automatic writing, with so-called mediumistic trance, as well as certain intoxications, epilepsies, hysterics, and recurrent insanities, afford examples of the

¹ *Proceedings*, Vol. XII., p. 318.

development of what I have called secondary mnemonic chains,—fresh personalities, more or less complete, alongside the normal state. And I would add that hypnotism is only the name given to a group of empirical methods of inducing these fresh personalities, of shifting the centres of maximum energy, and starting a new mnemonic chain.¹

Myers strongly opposed the opinion, held by some, that these "secondary personalities" are split-off, as it were, from the context of our everyday consciousness, and are, in themselves, morbid. According to him they arise in psychical "strata" below conscious memory. They are "dramatic Sunderings" of the psychical *continuum*, but certainly not of our ordinary consciousness. Moreover, he held firmly that they are not necessarily morbid.

"So long," he says, "as we try to explain all the phenomena of hypnotism, double consciousness, etc., as mere morbid disaggregations of the empirical personality—repartitions among several selves of powers habitually appertaining to one alone—so long, I think, shall we be condemning ourselves to a failure which will become more evident with each new batch of experiments, each fresh manifestation of the profundity and strangeness of the subliminal forces at work. We shall find ourselves, so to say, explaining the action of a group of geysers on the assumption that they are springs fed by the ordinary rainfall."²

The following passage carries the argument a step further :

Over against the purely chemical attractions and reactions which M. Soury discovers in his protozoa, I claim that at the other end of the scale we can set the discovery of supersensory powers—clairvoyance and telepathy. Just as M. Soury infers from his experiments that the psychic life of the lower organisms shades insensibly into the molecular changes of lifeless matter, so do I infer from our experiments that the psychical life of the higher organisms is not wholly determined by terrene or corporeal evolution, but shades insensibly into the conditions of a life not dependent on the concomitance of a material brain. Nay, further—I will even add that I find the transition between the incarnate and the discarnate forms of life no more improbable

¹ *Proceedings*, Vol. V., Supplement, p. 387. ² *Ibid.*, Vol. VII., p. 301.

than the materialist finds the transition between the crystal and the speck of protoplasm.¹

Before, however, pursuing this line of thought we must turn for a few moments to Myers's characteristic doctrine of "messages from the subliminal consciousness." We have already seen that Myers was early led to assign many of the phenomena of automatic writing, not to spirit control, but to the unconscious activity of the automatist. This unconscious activity now appears in Myers's thought as an activity of the subliminal "self," and the written messages are messages from that "self." It is true they often profess to come from an external source, and to be virtually spirit messages, and, in some cases, Myers came to admit the truth of this claim. But, in other cases, the messages themselves were the strongest disproof of such a claim.

"The ascription," says Myers, "of the paltriest automatic messages to the loftiest names—human or divine, the awe-struck relating of the halting verses of a 'Shakespeare' or the washy platitudes of a 'St. John'—all this has been equally repugnant to religion, and to plain common sense."²

In cases such as these the "subjective" origin of the "messages" seemed to Myers indubitable. But not all "subjective" writings are thus unworthy. On the contrary, he feels able to cite the Dæmon of Socrates as "an example of *wise automatism* ; of the possibility that the messages which are conveyed to the conscious mind from unconscious strata of the personality . . . may sometimes come from far beneath the realm of dream and confusion,—from some self whose monitions convey to us a wisdom profounder than we know."³

The directing voices of Joan of Arc were, according to Myers, also subliminal, and were, in their own way, equally worthy.

"And lastly," he writes, "it must be observed that among all the messages thus given to Joan of Arc there does not seem to

¹ *Proceedings*, Vol. VII., p. III.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. VI., p. 337.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. V., Supplement, p. 543.

have been one which fell short of the purest heroism. They were such commands as were best suited to draw forth from her who heard them the extreme of force, intelligence, virtue of which she had the potency at her birth. . . .

"We need not assume that the voices which she heard were the offspring of any mind but her own. . . .

"Yet, on the other hand, we have no right to class Joan's monitions, any more than those of Socrates, as an incipient madness. To be sane, after all, is to be adjusted to our environment, to be capable of coping with the facts around us. Tried by this test, it is Socrates and Joan who should be our types of sanity; their difference from ourselves lying rather in the fact that they were better able to employ their whole being, and received a deeper inspiration from the monitory soul within."¹

The question naturally arises, If we have all these unsuspected powers, do they ever manifest themselves in conscious life? Myers answers, "Yes—in the operations of genius."

He adopts as his own the general conclusion of Max Dessoir :

It is only when imagination is comprehended as a function of the secondary self, and hallucination, inspiration, change of personality, are understood as projections from within outwards, with more or less of sensory clothing, . . . it is only then, I say, that the creative imagination of the artist is understood and traced to its root.²

The following passages poetically refer poetry and music to the unsuspected treasures of the subliminal consciousness :

There is an inward consonance, an obscure concert, which forms the groundwork of poetry, the fount of song,—the cradle from whence those "sphere-born harmonious sisters, Voice and Verse," issue in performed divinity into the common day.³

There exists among men a mighty complex of conceptions which lie apart from—some say beyond—articulate speech and reasoned thought. There is a march and uprising through

¹ *Proceedings*, Vol. V., Supplement, pp. 545, 546.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. VI., pp. 213, 214.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII., p. 342.

ideal spaces which some hold as the only true ascent ; there is an architecture which some count as alone abiding,—

Seeing it is built
Of music, therefore never built at all,
And, therefore, built for ever.

Whether considered in regard to its development in the race, or to its activity in the individual, music resembles not so much a product of terrene needs and of natural selection as a subliminal capacity attaining to an accidental manifestation independently of the requirements or of the external stimuli of the supraliminal self.¹

Myers repeats, over and over again, that if these views of human nature be verified, evolution, in its ordinary sense, entirely fails to account for it.

If, as we get deeper down, we come on even more definite indications of powers and tendencies within ourselves which are not such as natural selection could have been expected to develop, then we begin to wonder on what it was that the terrene process of natural selection, as we have it, began at first to exercise modifying power.²

For himself, he finds a solution of the problem in the doctrine of pre-existence :

It is not really a hypothesis wilder than another if we suppose it possible that that portion of cosmic energy which operates through the organism of each one of us was in some sense individualised before its descent into generation, and pours the potentialities of larger being into the earthen vessels which it fills and overflows.³

Our complex organism, the result of a long previous history, is felt to restrict our so-called voluntary action within narrow limits ; and if we possess also a soul independent of the body, it is surely likely that the soul's previous history also—for *some* previous history any entity so highly specialised as man's soul must have had—may exercise a determining influence, even more profound than the organism's influence, upon the thoughts and actions of this incarnation. There may, in short, be a kind of alternating personality, exposing itself first in an incorporeal

¹ *Proceedings*, Vol. VIII., p. 343. ² *Ibid.*, Vol. VI., p. 215. ³ *Ibid.*

and then in a corporeal state, in such a way that the incorporeal state is the deeper and the more permanent, and that suggestions thence derived influence corporeal life, although the empirical consciousness which governs that life may never know it.¹

In the following passages we approach the culminating point of Myers's thought :

"Experiments on the propagation and interruption of clair-voyant or telepathic knowledge or memory" may "conceivably reveal to us inferentially, but not the less certainly, an obscure psychical entity which we can best describe to ourselves as an *anima mundi* or cosmic record of all things—*quæ sint, quæ fuerint, quæ mox ventura trahantur*."²

And thinking thus of the universe, as no mere congeries of individual experiences, but as a plenum of infinite knowledge of which all souls form part, we come to count less and less upon having to deal exclusively with intelligences like our own. Our limitations of personality may less and less apply to spirits drawing more directly upon the essential reality of things. The definite intelligences which have crystallised, so to say, out of the psychical vapour may even for us become again partly sublimated, may again be diffused for a moment amid such knowledge as our organisations cannot receive except in ecstasy and bewilderment, or retain except in vanishing symbol and obscure and earthly sign.³

This naturally results in a doctrine of ecstasy.

We must say with Plato—the lawgiver of all subsequent idealists—that the unknown realities around us, which the philosopher apprehends by the contemplation of abstract truth, become in various ways obscurely perceptible to men under the influence of "divine madness"—of an enthusiasm which is in fact inspiration.⁴

This quotation comes from one of our author's essays in literature ; but the same general conception finds eloquent and earnest expression in many passages in the *Proceedings*.

Myers is quite clear that ecstasy is not always merely pathological.

¹ *Proceedings*, Vol. XI., p. 591.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. VII., p. 120.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. XI., p. 593.

⁴ *Wordsworth*, p. 127.

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The state of ecstasy, although generally associated with hysteria, or even occurring as a stage in an epileptiform attack, must not therefore be assumed to be in *itself* a morbid or degenerative condition. It is just as possible that it may be in itself an elevated condition, but that the possibility of entering it may be purchased by a perilous degree of nervous instability.¹

The hysterical patient has an hour of ecstasy, during which her face, if we may trust Dr. Paul Richer's drawings, often assumes a lofty purity of expression which the ordinary young person might try in vain to rival. But she pays for her transitory exaltation by days of coherent scolding, of reckless caprice.²

In this way does Myers reach a reasoned faith in immortality. As to the character of the future life thus assured, Psychical Research apparently told Myers little, but, the cardinal fact once secure, he found in the life that now is, in its promise, and its hope, and its faith, in its unsatisfied yearning and ceaseless aspiration, the sure warrant of the nature of that life which so surely is to come. "An eternity of love, an eternity of virtue,—to mount upwards to the utmost limits of the conceivable, and still to be at the beginning of our desire," it is this for which he longs. Nor is our desire for anything earthly or selfish, but ever for the things unseen and eternal, and for the highest of them all, the crowning grace of love, of love reaching out to the true completeness of its life in "the house not made with hands eternal in the heavens."

III.

Here, then, we have the conclusion of the matter; and now, what shall we say to it all? With one part, at least, speaking from the standpoint of Christian thought, we can express the fullest agreement,—with the conception, that is, of the future life as being, in the first place and characteristically, a life of spiritual progress. Truly, it is not a mere appendix to the life we now know, nor even *merely* its

¹ *Proceedings*, Vol. V., Supplement, p. 396. ² *Ibid.*, Vol. IV., p. 507.

reward. It is its consummation, wherein all that makes this life good will become perfect, and will become perfect, as Myers himself felt, in love. The doctrine of secondary personalities, too, rests on evidence which is so well attested, and derives such corroboration from its points of agreement with our current psychological thought, that it must probably be accepted as a highly significant contribution to our knowledge of man's nature. We must, however, be careful not to interpret it so as to impair the doctrine of the fundamental unity of the soul, or to encourage the crude superstition that these human bodies of ours are so many nests for colonies of distinct spiritual entities, of which the self we know, or seem to know, is but one.

As to the rest—it is easy to say Pantheism ! and doubtless much of what Myers wrote has a pantheistic ring ; but before we hasten to condemn, let us make quite sure that we see our way—that, for instance, we can really interpret to thought the theological truth of “creation,”—that we know what we mean by personality. It is upon this latter point that Myers's conclusions are most open to adverse comment. His thought is, after all, too much dominated by physical analogies. It is true that for any adequate treatment of personality we probably have to fall back upon the “Athanasian” distinction between “substance” and “person” ; but in this connexion “substance” must mean source of energy, and not, first of all and merely, “extended substance.” Whatever spiritual “substance” may be, it certainly is not comparable with “psychical vapour,” nor can personality be thought of as arising from local “crystallisation,” as it were, in such primitive “soul-stuff.” Personality cannot arise by the mere concatenation of psychic states. Memory itself, as M. Paulhan conclusively shows, can be only one factor in it. As we know it in experience, it must surely be the expression of a distinct spiritual entity with a definite character and abiding end of its own. That character is, it is true, expressed in the unity of experience, which shows the subject of experience to be essentially unitary ; but it is also seen in the dynamic and controlling

moral ideal, which builds up life after its own pattern, and which, although realising itself in social activity,—and pre-eminently in the life of love,—must ever remain intrinsically individual.

It will probably be felt, however, that these questions, whatever their importance for critical thought, are yet secondary to the fundamental one,—Has Psychical Research, in very truth, done what Myers thought it had done? Has it actually given a new basis for the hope of immortality?

To this, probably, no quite simple answer can be given.

The method of Psychical Research, as Myers followed it, is sound enough,—to explore human nature as we here and now know it, and to seek for evidence of the spiritual, not in some divine “otherness” of things, unapproachable by thought or along the path of experience, but in the present reality that we assuredly know. This is the distinctive attempt of the best of our modern apologetic, and it harmonizes well with the equally characteristic tendency of modern philosophy to find truth and reality, not in an alien and distant Absolute, which can be known only *viâ negationis*, but in that dynamic order of Being and Becoming which daily experience reveals and science co-ordinates. If there be, in very truth, a spirit in man, it must be fundamental for the being and powers of his present life. The question of immortality, indeed, passes into the deeper and more significant question as to the intrinsically spiritual character of life as we now have and know it. If our present life be, in its deepest reality, a spiritual experience and activity, every consideration that leads us to believe this, will, as Bishop Butler long ago showed, persuasively urge the conviction that there is nothing in death to affect the spiritual principle which is the subject of that experience and the agent in that activity. And this, philosophically speaking, is the most that apologetic can hope to accomplish. The spiritual, from its very nature, must ever remain undemonstrable by science, even by psychical science. For us men it must ever remain a conclusion as to the nature of this or that reality: it can never be one observed fact among others. Hence, apologetic

must ultimately rest, not upon observation, but upon interpretation,—not upon mere facts, but upon thought, for it is thought alone which, by assigning to facts their character, and interpreting their meaning, can warrant us in holding that in the facts we know under physical conditions—and all the facts we know, even psychical facts, are thus conditioned—there is or is not a principle which is not physical. If, then, we take the business of reasoned apologetic quite seriously, we must admit that the most that Psychical Research can do is to increase our material for analysis, to widen the area of generalisation. Its facts, when we have them quite assured, will but be new material for an interpretative analysis such, for instance, as T. H. Green gave to the ultimate and essential facts of our everyday experience, and upon the value of the thought that interprets, and not upon the uninterpreted facts, must the stress of apologetic be laid.

If there is nothing in the basal facts of our common experience—in the act of judgment, in the aspiration of goodness, in the very fact of the existence of experience as an experience of connected events—to warrant the spiritual interpretation of human nature, there is an exceedingly strong presumption that such logically and psychologically secondary facts as Psychical Research reveals will not avail to establish it. Even if Psychical Research be carried up into spiritualism, it would seem that, strictly speaking, the facts disclosed are evidence, not for immortality, but only for *post-mortem* existence, and it by no means follows, because *something* survives death, that that something is an immortal spirit. Theosophists, indeed, tell us that the agents concerned in the facts of spiritualism are *not* immortal spirits. Logically, therefore, the primacy of thought remains unimpaired. If we are to reach a reasoned and a reasonable faith in the spiritual, it can be only by the interpretative essays of thought in its most convincing sincerity and thoroughness.

But if this interpretation be once accomplished, every increase of knowledge patient of that interpretation gives increase of assurance. After all, even in philosophy, we

walk by faith. We interpret the world as we can, but who can say that the ideal immanent in the dialectic of individual thinking is an ideal for the world?—that the order of thought can truly interpret the order of that world of experience which is not thought but fact? All we can do is to think as well as we can, and then to leave our thought to the test of experience. Just as an empirical law of natural science gathers value as the facts that we can subsume under it become more numerous, so the more radical conclusions of philosophy gather persuasiveness from a widening illustration in fact. But, strictly speaking, this widening illustration gives us *corroboration*, not *demonstration*, and confirms our hope, rather than logically proves our creed, and though, to certain academic moods of thought, such corroboration may seem a small thing, those who have grasped the essential truth that our life here is essentially a life of faith, and that every human activity, even though it be in the Hegelian dialectic, is essentially a venture of faith, will not be prone lightly to esteem it.

Now, it would be idle to deny that such corroboration of our hope for immortality Psychical Research does actually give. I do not mean that the facts disclosed by Psychical Research dispose men to share our Christian hope, for such "disposing" involves merely an alteration in intellectual and emotional bias, which is not, and cannot give, corroboration. I mean this, that, given a spiritual analysis of ordinary experience, the discovery in the human constitution of a whole order of new facts, of new powers and processes of quite unsuspected range and character, which are themselves obviously opposed to "naturalism," is a powerful and most welcome corroboration of that analysis. But, I repeat, such facts are corroboratory, not as *mere* facts, but as interpreted by thought, and my own conviction is clearly this, that the thought which can disclose to faith the spiritual principle in these new facts, can disclose it as availingly in life's common experience and everyday activities.

ARTHUR BOUTWOOD.

AUSTRALASIAN POETRY.

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2. *Ranolf and Amohia.* By ALFRED DOMETT. (London : Kegan Paul, Trench, & Co. 1883.)
3. *The Poems of Adam Lindsey Gordon.* Containing "Sea-Spray and Smoke-Drift," "Bush Ballads and Galloping Rhymes," Miscellaneous Poems, and "Ashtaroth, a Dramatic Lyric." (London : Samuel Mullen. 1887.)
4. *Convict Once, and Other Poems.* By J. BRUNTON STEPHENS. (Melbourne : George Robertson & Co. 1885.)

THE progress of recent events has turned all eyes to Australasia, and the present affords a fit opportunity to consider her achievements in other fields than those of commercial enterprise or imperial loyalty. We have travelled very far from the time when Australia was synonymous with Botany Bay, dimly believed to be an enormous island, with savage aborigines and an unexplored interior, the home of ex-convicts and struggling squatters ; far also from the days when it was regarded as the Eldorado of the Antipodes, if not of the earth, vaguely known as a land of vast flocks, vast treasure, and magnificent distances, where bushrangers struck terror into miners and stock-farmers alike. There still exists, however, no little ignorance of Australasian endeavour and success in fields not soon

occupied by so young a country ; and this notwithstanding the fact that the artistic exportations of the new Commonwealth have contributed not a little to the entertainment of the ancient West.

It is inevitable that journalism should claim the earliest attention of literary talent in a new country ; and the ability and energy of Australasian journalists have established a press of which the Commonwealth is justly proud. But the demands of daily press work forbid real and enduring literary accomplishment. There must be a perpetual teasing of the surface soil which inhibits the production of crops that require a long and careful culture. The serious pursuit of literature demands leisure, traditions, and a life unharried by commercial cares ; and as the years go by this is becoming to an increasing degree a part of Australia's heritage. All that can be done to foster letters is being done by bands of earnest litterateurs and bookmen in the great cities of the Commonwealth, as capital literary clubs like the Yorick and publications like the *Melbourne Review* bear witness ; and it enters into the high ideal of the Australasian press to encourage a distinct school of poetry whose form and scope are largely determined by the task of the editors of the prominent weekly papers.

This condition of things is attended by certain limitations. So far Australasian poetry has been mainly adapted for home consumption. In transportation it loses much of its delicate aroma. This subtle atmosphere is appreciable enough in its native land. But like the balsamic odour pervading the virgin forests, the indestructible scent of the wattle-bloom in spring—

The scent that the bushman knows—

it depreciates as it departs from its source.

As a specimen of the verse appearing in the local press we may quote from a poem inspired by the Jubilee of Melbourne, written by Mr. J. F. Daniell, whose "Rhymes for the Times," a metrical commentary on current events, appear in the *Melbourne Herald*. It well describes the rapid and

substantial growth of those cities which form the foci of Australia's literary life.

It is no dream, upon those grass-grown streets
Has risen up a city vast and fair,
In whose thronged thoroughfares the stranger meets
With signs of all the world can send most rare
And costly to her marts. And everywhere
Ascends the hum of nervous, bustling strife—
The splendid evidence of healthy life.

Where stalwart bushmen lounged through sultry hours,
And large-boned oxen bowed beneath the yoke,
Are parks and gardens, rich with plants and flowers;
Mansions embowered in ash, and elm, and oak,
Churches where worshippers Heaven's aid invoke,
And towers and steeples, monuments and domes,
Rise amidst crowded haunts and peaceful homes.

The earliest Australasian poet of note was William Charles Wentworth, who was born at Norfolk Island in 1791. He went to Cambridge in 1816, where he wrote his prize poem "Australasia," formerly much quoted in the colony. The University award, however, was won that year by Mackworth Praed of wider celebrity. Wentworth emigrated to Sydney, where he became a leading journalist, and subsequently the first great statesman of the colony. He initiated the establishment of the University of Sydney in 1849, and his statue stands in its entrance hall. It was also owing to his efforts that the Constitution Bill was passed, which resulted in the first constitution being granted to Australia in 1856. His poem is chiefly in praise of Cook the discoverer, and of the early explorers of Australia, and sets forth at some length in rhymed couplets of some dignity the beauties and resources of *Australia felix*.

Notwithstanding Wentworth's greater antiquity, Charles Harpur of New South Wales is generally considered the hoary patriarch of Australasian poetry. He was born in 1817, the son of a Government schoolmaster; he was almost entirely a self-educated man, whose life was occupied in farming and squatting. His first work appeared in the newspapers, but in 1840 he published a volume of sonnets,

and his complete poems were brought out by his widow in 1883. His greatest achievement is "The Witch of Hebron," a finely conceived and well executed poem; but it makes one wish that he had chosen the subject of his *magnum opus* from the life and scenes he knew so well and described with a genuinely poetic insight and simplicity. These qualities are well displayed in his poem "The Creek of the Four Graves." It is a story of an early settler who went forth to seek "new streams and wider pastures" for his increasing flocks. He and his four men, at the end of their first day's journey, come to a stream running at the foot of a mountain range. The sun is setting,

His last glances fell
 Into the gloomy forest's eastern glades
 In golden gleams, like to the angel's sword,
 And flashed upon the windings of a creek
 That noiseless ran betwixt the pioneers
 And these new Apennines—ran, shaded o'er
 With boughs of the wild willow, hanging mixed
 From either bank, or duskily befringed
 With upward-tapering feathery swamp-oaks,
 The sylvan eyelash always of remote
 Australian waters, whether gleaming still
 In lake or pool, or bickering along
 Between the marges of some eager stream.

Here they halt and make their camp. At length the men fall asleep, leaving the master on watch. Suddenly he is startled by a sound from the death-like stillness of the bush.

With a strange horror gathering to his heart,
 As if his blood were charged with insect life
 And writhed along in clots, he stilled himself
 And listened heedfully, till his held breath
 Became a pang.

Again a rustling arouses him, and suddenly a band of savages rushes out upon the camp. They club his men as they start up from sleep, and he, after firing his rifle, runs for his life, and chancing upon a hidden cave, escapes his pursuers. The story is typical of the early days, and is told in felicitous verse distinguished by many striking fancies.

As a vivid word-picture Harpur's "Storm on the Mountains" is most effective. The terrifying thunder, the tropic deluge, the awful lightning, and the hurricane's wild riot are set forth in sonorous lines that rise, occasionally, to fine climaxes. "The Cloud" affords an illustration of the poet's singing quality and gentle spirit. The idea is that a cloudlet, floating up from the sea, is distressed by the sight of the parched earth and wearied, thirsty labourers.

"And oh!" she said, "that by some act of grace
'Twere mine to succour yon fierce-toiling race."
The day advanced, and the cloud greater grew,
And greater likewise her desire to do.
Some charity to men had more and more,
As the long sultry summer day on wore,
Gretened and warmed within her fleecy breast,
Like a dove fledgling in its downy nest.

Earth's toil-worn sons look up and beseech the cloud to help them. But she remembers a tradition of her youth

That when a cloud adventures from the skies
Too near the altar of the hills, it dies.

After wavering awhile she determines to sacrifice herself.

And then wide flashed throughout her full-grown form
The glory of her will! the pain and storm
Of life's dire dread of death whose mortal threat
From Christ Himself drew agonising sweat.

Forth flash the lightnings, cleaving her asunder, opening the "teeming cisterns of the storm," and bringing life and blessing to the land.

As yet the principal achievement in Australasian poetry is Alfred Domett's *Ranolf and Amohia*. It is a really great work, to which no extracts can do justice. Mr. Douglas Sladen—the first Professor of History in the University of Sydney—thus characterises it:

Through six or seven hundred octavo pages it never drags. It is as full of close reasoning as Browning's masterpieces, while it is written in rhymed, rhythmical, ever-varying metres. The knowledge of books and of human nature displayed in it is

stupendous. It has embalmed the mythologies, customs, and tribal wars of the Maoris—and, with a crowning piece of good fortune, has immortalised, in a passage of the most delicate beauty, the famous Pink Terraces, geysers, and mountain marvels, overwhelmed in the recent earthquake. A charming love-story runs through it, and has its surprises to the end of the book; and the language of the poem is a model for describing colloquial subjects in suitable, unstilted, but thoroughly poetical expression.

Domett was a New Zealander by colonial choice, though a Surrey man by birth, and a Cambridge man by education. He was amongst the earliest settlers of Wellington, New Zealand, where he took a prominent interest in public affairs, held several Government appointments, and in 1862 and 1863 was Premier of the colony. He returned to England in 1871 and published *Ranolf and Amohia*, and, about six years later, *Flotsam and Jetsam*, a collection of fugitive poems. This volume contains his fine Christmas hymn, "In the solemn centuries long ago," which Longfellow included in his *Poems of Places*, and upon which he heartily congratulated Domett. But poetry was not merely the solace of his declining years. He sent forth a small book of verse ten years before he emigrated; and was a friend of Browning, whose influence is discernible in both the thought and form of his masterpiece. It is to Domett that Browning refers in his well known lines beginning "What's become of Waring?"

The two verses following are from the Prelude to *Ranolf and Amohia*:

O, my friends, never deaf to the charms of denial,
 Were its comfortless comforting worth a life-trial,
 Discontented content with a chilling despair?
 Better ask as we float down a song-flood unchecked,
 If our sky with no Iris be glory-bedecked?
 Through the gloom of eclipse as we wistfully steal,
 If no darkling aureolar rays may reveal
 That the future is haply not utterly cheerless;
 While the present has joy and adventure as rare,
 As the past when most fair?

And if weary of mists you will roam undisdaining
To a land where the fanciful fountains are raining
Swift brilliants of boiling and beautiful spray
In the violet splendour of skies that illumine
Such a wealth of green ferns and rare crimson tree-bloom ;
Where a people primeval is vanishing fast,
With its faiths, and its fables, and rays of the past ;
O, with reason and fancy unfettered and fearless,
Come plunge with us deep into regions of day,
Come away, and away !

The robust romanticism of these forewords to his poem of Maori folk-lore and adventure, their vigour and directness, as well as the form of the stanza, proclaim the disciple of Browning, and indicate the quality of one who would choose so difficult a master. And this boldness of execution makes *Ranolf and Amohia* unique in the poetry of the Antipodes.

"The Legend of Tawhaki" is an ancient story Amohia tells her lover

Of one God-hero of the land,
Of which our faithful lay presents
Precisely the main incidents,
Adorning freely everywhere
The better its intents to reach,
The language so condensed and bare,
Those clotted rudiments of speech.

There was once a race of creatures dwelling "in the oozy depth of ocean," the Pona-Turi, who loved darkness and only came ashore after sunset, hieing homeward, "swift as scattered clouds," before the first streak of dawn. Young Tawhaki determined to be avenged on them, for they had murdered his father, and kept his mother a slave to warn them of the approach of day. One night they came ashore as usual and lay sleeping in swarms in their spacious house. Immediately Tawhaki stops up every chink and cranny through which the light might enter, and the Pona-Turi fatally oversleep themselves. Then Tawhaki's mother gives the alarm ; Tawhaki suddenly lets in streams of light, and

the Pona-Turi, vainly struggling to get back to their ocean home, lie helpless, like heaps of stranded fish, and finally perish. As a reward for his wise and well executed vengeance the gods give Tawhaki a heavenly mate, whom, to his great sorrow, he inadvertently offends.

Now, of heavenly birth to cheer him, beauteous from those blue dominions,

Hapae came, divine, a damsel, floating down on steady pinions;

Came, a moving moonbeam, nightly lit with love his chamber brightly,

Till that spring-time of her bosom flushed out in a baby blossom.

Infant, it had infant failings. Once the dirt-delighted bantling, Scornfully Tawhaki jeered at. Straightway all the mother mantling

In her heart, her treasure Hapae caught up; to her plummy vesture

Pressed it, nestling; then upspringing with reproachful look and gesture,

Sailed off to her skyey mansion, vanished in the blue expansion,

Like an albatross that slides into the sunset,—whitely fading With its fixed rare-winking vans, away into the crimson shading.

But before her departure Hapae tells him that if ever he wishes to follow her he must climb upward by a trailing vine, not of the loosely hanging sort, but one rooted securely in the earth. Many a moon he wanders, seeking such a creeper, till at length he falls in with a blind old crone whose sight he restores, and who, in gratitude, helps him to find "a creeper rooted, finely for his purpose suited." Up he climbs bravely, and discovers at the top a shiny spider-thread hanging from the blue above him. Fearfully muttering many an incantation, he begins his perilous ascent. Finally he reaches a grove where are many people building a great canoe. All day he hides, but creeps out at night, disguised as an old man, and, with a few masterly strokes, completes their work. After he has

repeated the miracle upon another tree-trunk the cupidity no less than the curiosity of the celestials is aroused. They watch for him and effect his capture and carry him before their queen, who turns out to be his lost Hapae. She greets him kindly and they become reconciled.

Then as he flings off for ever
That disguise's dim defilement, Hapae smiles sweet reconciliation;
Swift the child they bathe, baptize it, lustral waters o'er it
dashing;
And Tawhaki—breast and brow sublime insufferably flashing,
Hid in lightnings, as he looks out from the thunder-cloven
portals
Of the sky—stands forth confest—a god and one of the
immortals.

A splendid legend, surely, and as fitly told in musical narrative as "*Hiawatha*," which it inevitably recalls. Not the least charm of Australasian poetry is that it can find subjects such as this so near at hand, its life being so much closer to those pre-historic days from which the older civilisations are so widely sundered. This story may serve as a specimen of the Maori folk-lore tales which Domett has rescued from oblivion and made to live again in his vivid poem. Longfellow was specially pleased with it, and wrote to the author :

There is ample space in it to move and breathe. It reminds me of the great pictures of the old masters. Your descriptions of scenery are very powerful and beautiful. I have taken the liberty of making many extracts for the volume entitled *Oceanica*.

Mr. Sladen rightly draws attention to Domett's metrical variety. He is a master of many forms—now swinging and alliterative as Swinburne, now direct and vigorous as Browning. Another service that Domett has done for New Zealand is to immortalise the marvellous Pink Terraces, now being "restored," it is said, by the aid of American ingenuity. This unique wonder brings out in fine form his

splendid descriptive powers in words of varied hue and justly balanced value. But space forbids quotation.

Not only have Maori mythologies found a worthy chronicler in Alfred Domett, but the customs and traditions of the aborigines of the continent—of some western tribes, at least—have been set forth by George Gordon M'Crae in his poem "Balladsadro." The story is told in flowing ballad-metre, after the manner of Scott, and displays an intimate and interesting knowledge of native customs now almost extinct. One dramatic incident in the poem is furnished by the black art practised by a tribal doctor. It is remarkable as showing that the superstition on which is based Rossetti's terrible poem of vengeance, "Sister Helen," is a most ancient and widespread custom.

Within the wood, by weird fire-light
The wizard plied his art at night ;
And sitting with his arms outspread
And palsied, forward-bending head,
Sang to the flames a dreamy stave
That sounded like a half-spent wave.

A sketch of the victim is made upon a spear-rest or throwing-stick, upon which hangs a lock of the doomed one's hair. It is stuck in the ground before a fire, and the wizard bastes it with poisonous ointment. As the poison dies and the image grows hot the victim is supposed to suffer unspeakable agonies ; and the final burning of the throwing-stick indicates his death.

M'Crae, who stands in the front rank of Australasian poets, and holds a distinct place by reason of his aboriginal poems, exhibits in "Balladsadro" not only the superstitions of the natives but a measure of patriotism and natural affection which less careful observers have believed them to lack.

Probably the most widely known poet of the Antipodes is Adam Lindsey Gordon. His verse is that which is most often on the lips of Australasians, and a paper in *Temple Bar* in 1887 did much to introduce him to the British

public. He is *facile princeps* of those who have sung the "old colonial days," though, like most of the more notable poets of the Commonwealth, he was not born in Australia. He was the son of a retired army officer, and first saw the light at Fayal, in the Azores, in 1833. In 1851 he emigrated to South Australia and tried sheep-farming, but was most unfortunate, and after losing his capital he went from place to place, plunging ever more hopelessly into the wild and varied life of the bush—cattle-driving, gold-mining, and "overlanding." But he was not the kind of man to make a successful colonist, and as a last resource he took to steeple-chase-riding in Victoria. His love for horses was a deep instinct, always far removed from the low and selfish interest of the mere turfite. But he became poorer and sadder as no rift seemed to break in the cloud that had settled over his life, and at last he got tired of the struggle. One evening—the day on which his last volume of poems appeared—he died by his own rifle, on June 24, 1870, at Brighton, a suburb of Melbourne. "This," says his friend Patchett Martin, "was in accordance with his cherished pagan creed, that a man should know when the feast was over; that he should not linger at the festive board after the lights were out."

Sea-Spray and Smoke-Drift was his first volume. It contains a few poems now popular throughout the Commonwealth. Then came *Bush Ballads and Galloping Rhymes*, appropriately dedicated to Major Whyte-Melville in a characteristic poem, "The Swimmer." His longest and most ambitious work is *Ashtaroth: A Dramatic Lyric*. But it is not highly successful. This was not Gordon's vein; he was essentially a balladist or lyricist. Froude writes thus of him in *Oceana*:

The Australians have had one poet—something too much of the Guy Livingstone stamp, an inferior Byron, a wild rider, desperate and dissipated; but with gleams of a most noble nature shining through the turbid atmosphere.

But in speaking of him as the only Australian poet these
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words display the pardonable error of the tourist. As presenting the other side of the shield, take the following critique from Mr. Sladen :

He is interesting to everybody. His poems carry one away, like Macaulay or Aytoun in their stirring battle pictures. He is generally rhythmical, musical, sonorous. Some of his Swinburnian verses, we are sure, Swinburne would be proud to father. He is full of homely sayings that could not be put better if they had been rounded into proverbs in the mouths of millions in the course of centuries. To speak of proverbs, he is a very Burns in begetting them. And one can give strangers no better idea of his power in Victoria than by calling him the Australian Burns ; not that his poems bear the least resemblance to those of the immortal ploughman, but because he is essentially the national poet, he who dwells on the tongues of the people.

An extract from his poem, "The Sevinmore," clearly evidences his affinity with Swinburne's manner :

I would that with sleepy, soft embraces,
 The sea would fold me—would find me rest,
 In luminous shades of her secret places,
 In depths where her marvels are manifest ;
 So the earth beneath her should not discover
 My hidden couch ; nor the heav'n above her.
 As a strong love shielding a weary lover,
 I would have her shield me with shining breast.

The following verses are from a sombre but beautiful lyric wherein the heroine in *Ashtaroth* bewails her lover's departure :

My heart is heavy and weary
 With the weight of a weary soul ;
 The mid-day glare groweth dreary,
 And dreary the midnight scroll ;
 The corn-stalks sigh for the sickle
 'Neath the load of their golden grain ;
 I sigh for a mate more fickle—
 Thou comest not back again.

Thy voice in mine ear still mingles
With the voices of whisp'ring trees;
Thy cheek on my cheek still tingles
At the kiss of the summer breeze;
While dreams of the past are struggling
For substance of shades in vain,
I am waiting, watching, and longing—
Thou comest not back again.

Leading a forlorn hope, selling one's life dearly, succumbing desperately to hopeless odds, were familiar ideas with him, but not enduring to the end and winning a crown of life, in their plain earthly sense. Gordon could understand a blind king of Bohemia riding forward to be killed at Crécy, but not a Horatius thinking that he might guard the bridge and yet survive the day.

Such is Mr. Sladen's verdict on his temper.

Gordon's poems of bush-life are unrivalled, and his horse-poems might entitle him to a perpetual laureateship to the Centaurs. But their chief merit lies in their local picturesqueness. They reflect the peculiar atmosphere and tone of thought prevailing at a time which will always stand out as a distinct period in the history of the colony; not the earliest or the most recent, but the middle period, when the majority of the colonists were still of British birth. In no poem is he so conspicuously at his best as in the "Sick Stock-rider." Here is displayed to the full his lyrical genius, his pathetic hopelessness, his intimate knowledge of the "old colonial days," and his love for the bush.

'Twas merry in the glowing morn among the gleaming grass,
To wander as we've wandered many a mile,
And blow the cool tobacco cloud, and watch the white
wreaths pass,
Sitting loosely in the saddle all the while.
'Twas merry 'mid the blackwoods, when we spied the station
roofs
To wheel the wild scrub cattle at the yard,
With a running fire of stock whips and a fiery run of hoofs;
Oh! the hardest day was never then too hard!

I've had my share of pastime, and I've done my share of toil,
 And life is short—the longest life a span;
 I care not now to tarry for the corn or for the oil,
 Or for wine that maketh glad the heart of man.
 For good undone, and gifts misspent, and resolutions vain,
 'Tis somewhat late to trouble. This I know—
 I should live the same life over, if I had to live again;
 And the chances are I go where most men go.

The deep blue skies wax dusky, and the tall green trees
 grow dim,
 The sward beneath me seems to heave and fall;
 And sickly, smoky shadows through the sleepy sunlight swim,
 And on the very sun's face weave their pall.
 Let me slumber in the hollow where the wattle-blossoms
 wave,
 With never stone or rail to fence my bed;
 Should the sturdy station children pull the bush-flowers on
 my grave,
 I may chance to hear them romping overhead.

Henry Kendall, whose work is but little known in England, is a more polished writer and, in some respects, a truer "bush" poet than Gordon. Kendall knew Nature's secrets, and could interpret her moods better than Gordon; but the latter had his finger on the pulse of the wild, romantic, solitary life of the bushman as the former never had. To Kendall was given a larger share of

The light that never was on sea or land
 The consecration and the poet's dream.

But a greater crowd follows Gordon's singing by reason of his wider human sympathies and more vigorous writing. As a bush landscape painter Kendall is still unrivalled, and no Australasian lyrist has done more polished, tuneful work.

Fixed forms of verse find but little favour at the Antipodes. The colonial Pegasus is too vigorous and untamed to take kindly to harness. And it is the more remarkable that, of the chief Australasian singers, the only two who have taken kindly to the sonnet are the only two born in

the colony—Harpur and Kendall. The following is one which forms part of the introduction to Kendall's *Leaves from Australian Forests* :

I purposed once to take my pen and write
 Not songs like some, tormented and awry
 With passion, but a cunning harmony
 Of words and music caught from glen and height,
 And lucid colours born of woodland light,
 And shining places where the sea-streams lie ;
 But this was when the heat of youth glowed white,
 And since I've put the faded purpose by
 I have no faultless fruits to offer you
 Who read this book ; but certain syllables
 Herein are borrowed from unfooted dells,
 And secret hollows dear to noontide dew ;
 And these at least, though far between and few,
 May catch the sense like subtle forest spells.

Kendall wrote generally with more restraint than his contemporaries, and this gives a power to his descriptions and a pathos to his pictures of the sadder sides of bush-life that most of such work lacks. His singing flows to a smooth strain, and his verse-construction is skilful and felicitous ; though the gleam of a lurid light falls sometimes upon his poems, as in "Cooranbean," or "The Curse of Mother Flood." Here are two stanzas from the former :

A sinister fog at the wane—at the change of the moon
 cometh forth
 Like an ominous ghost in the train of a bitter black storm
 of the North !
 At the head of the gully unknown, it hangs like a spirit of bale ;
 And the noise of a shriek and a groan strikes up in the gusts
 of the gale.
 In the throat of a feculent pit is the beard of a bloody-red
 sedge ;
 And the foam like the foam of a fit sweats out of the lips of
 the ledge ;
 But down in the water of death, in the livid dead pool at the
 base—
Bow low with inaudible breath : beseech with the hands to the face !

Black Tom with the sinews of five—that never a hangman
could hang—

In the days of the shackle and gyve, broke loose from the
guards of the gang.

Thereafter, for seasons a score, this devil prowled under the ban :
A mate of red talon and paw—a wolf in the shape of a man.
But, ringed by ineffable fire, in a thunder and wind of the
North,

The sword of Omnipotent ire—the bolt of high heaven went
forth !

But, wan as the sorrowful foam, a grey mother waits by the sea
For the boys that have never come home these fifty-four
winters and three.

But it is not in these weird poems that he is seen at his
best. The glamour of the vast forests, the scent and sounds
and delicate tints of the bush, furnish his happiest inspira-
tions, as in the following verse from "Bell Birds":

October, the maiden of bright yellow tresses,
Loiters for love in these cool wildernesses ;
Loiters, knee-deep in the grasses, to listen
Where dripping rocks gleam and the leafy pools glisten :
Then is the time when the water-moons splendid
Break with their gold, and are scattered or blended
Over the creeks, till the woodlands have warning
Of the songs of the bell-bird and wings of the morning.

Or in these tuneful stanzas from "Orara":

The soft white feet of afternoon
Are on the shining meads,
The breeze is as a pleasant tune
Amongst the happy reeds.

A rose-red space of stream I see
Past banks of tender fern :
A radiant brook unknown to me
Beyond its upper turn.

Ah, brook above the upper bend,
I often long to stand
Where you in soft cool shades descend
From the untrodden land !

But haply in this sphere of change,
Where shadows spoil the beam,
It would not do to climb that range
And test my radiant Dream.

Kendall's mantle has fallen upon Philip Holdsworth, who has a passion and poetic insight, both of which are abundantly displayed in his "Station Hunting on the Warrego," the most terrible poem ever written on the dangers of Australian exploration. It is typical of the poems of "battle, murder, and sudden death," which subjects, in the days when they were less remote from the usual life of the colony, captured, by their grim suggestiveness, the imagination of many writers. One of the most graphic productions of this class is Thomas Heney's "Hut on the Flat," a poem of photographic vividness, written in the manner of Whitman.

There remains to be mentioned the most popular living poet of Australia, Brunton Stephens, whose work falls naturally into two classes, that of dramatic narrative and graceful humour. His *Convict Once* is undoubtedly, after *Ranolf and Amohia*, the most distinguished poem of considerable length on an Antipodean subject. It far surpasses Gordon's *Ashtaroth*, and is a finer production than Harpur's *Witch of Hebron*. It displays imagination and poetic power of a very high order. Though lacking in the lyric skill of Kendall, and in the sonorous, Swinburnian measures of Gordon, Stephens' work shows a marked subtilty and beauty of phrasing. Writers of the same type are Patchett Martin and Garnet Walsh; whose volumes entitled *Fernshawe* and *The Little Tin Plate* each contain strong and graceful poems. Bret Harte and Calverly are the prototypes of this school, though the sustained dramatic power of Stephens' "Midnight Axe" reaches a higher level than the former ever attains, and the humour and pathos of his "Drought and Doctrine" is excellent. Stephens' "Black Gin" and Martin's "Cynic of the Woods" or "My Cousin from Pall Mall" are quite equal in keen satire to the work of the author of "Fly Leaves."

The following verses are from "The Midnight Axe":

And yet, I tell you, the man lived on !
Though the ashes o'er and o'er
I had sifted till every trace was gone
Of what he was or more.

Three nights had passed ; in a quiet unstirred
By wind or living thing,
As I lay upon my bed I heard
His axe in the timber ring !

He hewed ; he paused ; he hewed again,
Each stroke was like a knell !
And I heard the fibres wrench, and then
The crash of a tree as it fell.

And I fled ; a hundred leagues I fled—
In the crowded haunts of town
I would hide me from the irksome dead,
And would crush remembrance down.

To the sense of all life's daily round
I had lost the living key,
And I grew to long for the only sound
That had meaning on earth for me.

And these stanzas, on a typically Australian subject, form the dramatic conclusion to Martin's "Romance in the Rough":

She made her choice, the wedding bells rang clear ;
The aged bridegroom figured in the *Times* ;
The young man, after some superfluous beer,
Went forth to foreign climes.

And this is all I ever chanced to know,
Told by my mate while digging on the creek,
Who ended with his handsome face aglow,
And with a verse in Greek.

GEORGE J. H. NORTHCROFT.

CONFUCIUS REDIVIVUS.

1. *The Discourses and Sayings of Confucius.* A new Translation. By KU HUNG-MING, M.A. Edin. (Shanghai: Kelly & Walsh. 1898.)
2. *Traces of International Law in Ancient China.* By Rev. W. A. P. MARTIN, D.D., LL.D. (Read before the Berlin Congress of Orientalists, September, 1881.)
3. *The National Records of the Confucian Era,* and other Chinese works.

IT was a good deed done to a worthy sage when the early Jesuit fathers exchanged the syllables *K'ung-fu-tzu* for the euphonic Latinism *Confucius*. Much lies in a name. K'ung-fu-tzu could never have been popular beyond the western frontiers of China, while Confucius has already found a niche in the Westminster Abbey of modern thought. And little more is needed to make the reverence accorded to his memory both intelligent and sympathetic. Are not his works, with English translations appended, procurable at the Oxford University press?

But on purchasing a set, we note that these translations were designed with the express purpose of holding a candle to the mystic hieroglyphs of the Chinese text. Whereas ordinary readers of English want to forget that there was ever any Chinese text to be elucidated; they want to hear the sage speaking to them in their own tongue. Has not this ideal been touched in the translation of the Bible? But in the case of Confucius, while the name of the man has been naturalised, the sayings of the sage have been only partially so. A special translation for English readers is needed in order to bring this about. But where shall we look for the translator? A retranslation of Professor

Legge's English might be accomplished by some student familiar with the original text. But the ideal translator must be Chinese of the Chinese, trained to a fully sympathetic touch with the original, and yet possessed of an intimate knowledge of English idiom, and the power to express himself in a graceful and facile English style. And such a one seems to stand before us in the person of a graduate of the University of Edinburgh, Mr. Ku Hung-ming, M.A., Chinese mandarin and English secretary in the Viceroy's *yamen*, Wuchang; who has prepared for us an English edition of *The Discourses of Confucius*, or what Professor Legge terms *The Analects*.

In the preface to this timely work the name of Professor Legge naturally figures, but not in such a connexion as to betray any symptom of generosity on the part of his successor. He is hit off in such phrases as a man of "raw literary training," of "utter want of critical insight," and the like. From all of which we gather that our present translator has some strong feeling against the venerable sinologue, and we may perhaps find a Chinese reason for much of that feeling in Professor Legge's preface to another Confucian work, an historical one, where he makes bold to point out "concealment of the truth" and "misrepresentation of facts"—words which place the two men in much the same position as that of a Catholic father and St. George Mivart, after the latter had denied the infallibility of the Pope. We see the situation, and proceed to try to appreciate the new translation, in spite of the ungracious reflections contained in its preface.

On comparing the two translations, we find in the new one a general gain in readableness, and at times an added light on difficult passages. The following extract will serve to illustrate the general differences of the two versions. It is taken from chap. ii., ver. 18 :

The Master said, "Hear much and put aside the points of which you stand in doubt, while you speak cautiously at the same time of the others; then you will afford few occasions of

blame. See much and put aside the things that seem perilous, while you are cautious at the same time in carrying the others into practice: then you will have few occasions for repentance" (Legge's translation).

Confucius said to him, "Read and learn everything, but suspend your judgment on anything of which you are in doubt; for the rest, be careful in what you say: in that way you will give few occasions for men to criticise what you say. Mix with the world and see everything, but keep away and do not meddle with anything which may get you into trouble; for the rest, be careful in what you do: in that way you will have few occasions for self-reproach" (Ku's translation).

Should it cause surprise that a common original is capable of such various verbiage in translation, it must be explained that every rendering of classical Chinese will necessarily be paraphrastic. In this recorded speech of Confucius there are but twenty-two characters in all. It reads literally, "Much hear reserve doubtful cautiously word the rest thus few blame, etc." So that the translator is much in the same position as an editor with an exceedingly terse Reuter before him. And as a journalist has lately explained, "A telegram has to be filled out to make it intelligible, books of reference have to be consulted, and when it appears in print it is the fruit of both labour and skill on the part of the newspaper producing it."

Further study of Mr. Ku's work proves his remarkable agility as a translator. In a footnote he makes an ancient commentator defend Confucius against the unwarranted inference that he advocated "governing the people by jugglery or Jesuitism." We may well ask what is the Chinese phrase of our Norman epoch for terms such as these. On referring to the text, we find the exact words to have been "morning-four-evening-five system." The idea is evidently shifting make-believe backed by unreasoning authority. So our translator takes his daring leap from the rugged precipice of Chinese idiom on to the bank of modern English—and alights without damage. His feat looks very like jugglery itself. It is just practised agility.

After this we may be prepared to meet with such expressions as "the Grand Kapelmeister" and "that magnificent Sansouci Pleasaunce"; with "Beau-clerk" as a well earned title, as opposed to the "red tape" of others; though the terms "chapel" and "cathedral" for ancestral temples, and the adjectives "saintly and holy" as applied to certain ancient worthies, seem to introduce into the old world of the Confucian epoch various ecclesiastical and theological colourings of which those days were innocent.

One remarkable and instructive element in the work is its array of character-parallels. We are introduced to this man as "the Frederic the Great of the time," to that man as "Wilhelm I. of Germany," to the other as "the Bismarck of the time." Two more are Chinese editions of Sydney Smith and Lord Chesterfield respectively. And all that history tells us of the men in question proves the comparisons to be remarkably apt ones. In only one case is there a manifest slip: the martial founder of the dynasty of Confucius is described as the Solomon (instead of the David) of Chinese history. We do not wonder that Confucius' beloved disciple should be called the "St. John" of the Confucian circle. But Yen Hui, lovely and lovable, dies young, and his master it is who discourses on his incomparable character,—thus reversing the situation with regard to Jesus and John.

Valuable, again, are the comparisons between various ancient Chinese states and modern Western countries. "Lu was perhaps the Great Britain of ancient China; noted for love of morality and common-sense in the character of her people, but inaptness for ideas, which made them rather utilitarian in their politics and government." And as this same Lu was the native state of Confucius, such comparisons help to bring the historic sage well within the range of modern thought.

A rigid evolutionary view of biography regards the great men of history as the mere product of their respective ages,—a view which would tend to restrict our studies of Confucius to the age of which he would thus be the offspring and exponent. But while a reformer may represent the highest

product of a given age, must we not conclude that, being a reformer, his teaching has been shaped by a rebound from the general tone of that age? The lights of the world have appeared during times of general gloom; that gloom may have necessitated the lighting of their lamps, but it is not itself the source whence they drew their light. The relation of their light to the encircling gloom is evidently one of contrast. If possessed of no special and immediate revelation, they are an attempted local continuation of a light that has ceased to be general.

The soul that rises with them, their life's star,
Has had elsewhere its setting, and cometh from afar,—

afar, perchance, in point of time. Luther, though a German of a certain era, and with an appeal moulded by the needs of his age, was surely a product of the age which produced the New Testament. Toward his own age he was *protestant*. And in like manner that very different reformer, Confucius, seemed to take his shape from the touch of ages as remote from his own as the apostolic age was remote from the days of Luther. And toward his own age he was nothing if not *protestant*.

The source of Confucius' inspiration was the epoch of the ideal "rulers" Yao, Shun, Yü (dated 2356-2197 B.C.), whom Mr. Ku teaches us to recognise as the Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob of the Chinese race. And if we regard them as literal patriarchs, with a limited number of descendants in the clan around them, the order with which they are said to have ruled (their households) becomes easily credible, even though we are assured that "no door was shut at night for fear of thieves; and if a man dropped some article of value, he would find it there on his return, for no one coveted it."

To regard such placid patriarchal conditions as ideals for a kingdom is natural; to meet with disappointments in their being actualised among a numerous and heterogeneous people is also as natural. Might we not prophesy that as the clan grew to a nation the virtues of the early patriarchs

might not be readily transmissible to rulers and kings, and that in process of growth the increasing number of families of lessening relatedness would be likely to degenerate from the early condition of virtue in homogeneity? And that is doubtless what happened. A climax of oppression and depravity is reported to have been reached during the years 1818-1766 B.C. Then came a national convulsion, and a reformer gained the throne. But his rule was followed by six centuries of decadence, ending in a period when the Son of Heaven was a manifest son of hell, a monster of debauchery and oppression.

We may call him the Nero, but from the national side, the Pharaoh of Chinese antiquity, who would not let the people go to the promised land of peace, wherein their forefathers, the patriarchs Yao, Shun, and Yü, had been sojourners. And now if we can imagine Israel to have groaned in a Nero-dominated Egypt, with the forced erection of a huge pleasure-house in place of treasure-cities for their task, and David the warrior instead of Moses the law-giver as their deliverer, we shall gain a working idea of the condition of things under which the Chou dynasty received its initial popularity.

Confucius being born in this dynasty, his mental outlook embraced three or more famous patriarchs of remote ages,—glorified by tradition into kingdom-rulers of altogether sacred memory, and a deliverance and a deliverer from intolerable oppression in later days, celebrated by a joy-struck people in a section of the national Book of Odes.

Given these traditions, the point at which drastic criticism determines that Chinese history shall be understood to begin (8th century B.C.) brings to view a purely Chinese tribe settled in the midst of some teens of partly aboriginal tribes, in the northern half of present-day China. If indeed the whole had been unified once, the Martial Monarch's generosity, on founding the dynasty, seems to have overleapt his prudence, for he must have divided the realm among his helpers and counsellors in such a manner as to invite almost independent after-developments among the several states ;

although the bounds of each were fixed by reference to the constellations of the Chinese zodiac, as ancient charts attest.

At the time that Confucius' history of the period begins (722 B.C.), China proper was confined within very narrow limits. "It consisted of merely a few states of no great size, lying on each side of the Yellow river, from the point where its channel makes a sudden bend to the east onwards to its mouth" (Legge). In the centre of the whole was the Royal Domain, which from its geographical position was naturally termed the Middle Realm—a term afterwards applied to the whole empire. The cluster of states, fringing off among "barbarous" tribes, was known as *orbis terrarum*, "all under heaven," or the Terrestrial Empire; the term "Celestial" being sacred to the "Son of Heaven," and never to this day communicable to his subjects, the "Terrestrials."

The history of those days is that of monarchs on the down-grade, while the three outer states which had most to do with barbarians gradually assume the proportions of a ruling triad, until one of them, the state of Ch'in, eventually swallows up the whole, and gives us our Western term China.

In 878-826 B.C. we have the Cruel Monarch, who gagged the people's mouths, and was driven from his palace; next the Manifest Monarch (827-780), who refused to set a patriarchal example by handling the plough, whereupon his consort stripped herself of her jewels and went to prison; then on the king's coming to ask the reason, explained herself as Tennyson's Enid, fearing that she was "no true wife" now that her lord was "melted into mere effeminacy." Then the king within the husband awoke, and was "manifest," as his title implies. But like David he committed one fault against Heaven's protective and uncalculating benevolence, for he numbered the people,—and Heaven's face was turned from the land for a while. His successor, the Occult Monarch (781-771), became ere long bewitched by the fairy charms of a woman, born in an altogether weird fashion and nurtured in secret. For her he broke the law

of Heaven recorded in the Hebrew writings (Deut. xxi. 15, 16), for he "made the son of the beloved the firstborn before the son of the hated, which was the firstborn." Nay, he drove out his firstborn, and made him an alien. And to gain a smile from the woman who had bewitched him he lit the beacon-fires when there was no danger; at which the chieftains assembled in hot haste. And, lo! the woman laughed. But anon the aliens among whom he had driven his firstborn prepared war against him. Then were the beacon-fires lit in earnest; but no chieftains came this time. And the kingdom fell.

The firstborn gained the throne, but only as a debtor to both chieftains and barbarians, so that he conferred favours on both. Then, fearing that the aliens who had helped him might menace the land, he removed his capital from near their frontier, surrendering that post, with all its bracing necessities of vigilance, to the State of Ch'in. Then one favoured chieftain usurped the royal prerogative as patriarchal high-priest, and sacrificed to the Supreme. Others were insurgent, and there arose a socialist talker, one Mo-tzu, who preached the doctrine of indiscriminate regard. At length the Placid Monarch died, and his widow was fain to beg funeral expenses of the State of Lu, and the boon was denied her! Thus low had royalty fallen in the year 718 B.C.

But the age of Confucius was spared at least the woes of foreign entanglements, for in the year 569 B.C. (eighteen years before the birth of the sage) the barbarians requested a treaty of perpetual peace. It was objected that barbarians were necessarily void of conscience or humanity, and that a treaty would be useless. But better advice prevailed; the treaty was made and kept—an episode which modern Chinese rulers would do well to remember. And moreover, in after-centuries, not the barbarians but the men of Ch'in were the first to break the covenant—as he who runneth may read in the Records of Cathay.

These Records, to borrow the phraseology of Herbert Spencer, "besides copious accounts of royal misdemeanours,

contain minute details of every military campaign, and careful disentanglings of diplomatic trickeries." Owing to which former item, they are over-prized as a modern text-book of military tactics; but by reason of the latter item might well be made a text-book for all who conduct diplomatic negotiations with the Chinese officials. The art of warfare cannot but change with changing war-machinery, but the art of Chinese diplomacy, like that of the ancient game of chess, seems to know no such change. The moves may vary, but the principles of the game are those of yore. Given a modern move on the board, the method of counter-move will be set forth, at least in hint, by ancient examples.

As Chinese officials have pointed out, the larger states of the period very much resembled the kingdoms of Europe, especially, we may add, as loosely connected in the Middle Ages by a common allegiance to the Holy See. Their relations were distinctly international ones. Peace Congresses were held at intervals to break the monotony of blood-shed. And though no text-book of international law has come down to us from those times, there seems to have either been one, or certain general understandings which made an actual volume superfluous. And one item which is not without its bearing on modern events is that the person of an envoy was held sacred. Even were a minor insult offered him—a facetious publicity given to a defect in his personal appearance, for instance—it would be regarded as a legitimate *casus belli*, while the maltreatment of an envoy was always equivalent to a declaration of war. Thus the ancient records of China, whose date is ever recent, add their testimony, were further testimony needed, to the fact that the "Boxer war" of 1900 was officially and intentionally declared against all Western nations, unless, indeed, they were regarded as certain hordes of savages, unworthy to pollute the Middle Realm with the presence of their representatives.

In this connexion it is interesting to note Confucius' references to the "barbarians" which surrounded the China

of his day on all four sides. They are kindly ones. And in them, no less than in antiquity, he found a leverage for his teaching. On two occasions he declared he would go and live among them (v. 6, ix. 13). And once he remarked, "The heathen hordes of the North and East, even, acknowledge the authority of their chiefs, whereas in China respect for authority no longer exists anywhere" (iii. 5).

A striking instance of contempt for international law occurred in the year 658 B.C. The northern State of Chin (pronounced *gin*, and not the same as Ch'in) had a little southern corner of its territory occupied by two tiny states, which the Prince of Chin eyed as did Ahab the vineyard of Naboth. But they were sturdily united, and he was at a loss how to accomplish his purpose. At last he found that petty chieftain A had a passion for horses and gems, and that chieftain B could be readily trapped into debauchery. So to B he sent a bevy of maidens, and in the words of a popular commentator waited for the "poisoned lozenges" to work. He could hardly bear to part with his stud of fine horses and his collection of gems, but a corrupt statesman, his evil genius, assured him it would be but for a while. On receipt of such a sumptuous present, state A could not refuse to break with B, especially as the latter was now demoralised. The army of Chin accordingly made a road through A and demolished B; and then turned round to treat A in similar fashion, with the watchword, "I have come to fetch my horses and my gems!"

And the lawlessness of the clans within the several states was strikingly impressed upon Confucius, if for no other reason than that his own great-grandfather's immigration to Lu arose out of one of these lawless deeds. For an ancestor of his, an officer of well known loyalty and probity, had a wife of surpassing beauty, which the chief of another and more powerful clan seized by violence, after murdering her husband. She proved faithful, and committed suicide on the way to the fortress of her capturer, who then collected his retainers and ravaged the estate of the K'ung family. And in further exemplification of the rottenness in the state

of China, which gave Confucius his mission to remedy the out-of-jointness of the times, it may be affirmed that should the play of *Hamlet* ever become familiar to Chinese literati, they are likely to see in its hero a weakened Western adaptation of the sage himself. For a tragedy similar to that which made Hamlet Hamlet, happened not fifty years before Confucius' birth. The victim was the Prince of Lu; the perpetrators, his wife and (must we say it?) her brother-paramour of an adjacent state. Thus the ghost scene would be construed as a dramatic portrayal of the arousal which Confucius received from the spirits of the mighty dead, near or remote; the play scene would "doubtless" be suggested by that mirror of history (*The Annals*) in which the sage so revealed the age to itself that, according to Mencius, "rebellious ministers . . . were struck with terror"; and the whole play would have a tragic ending for the simple reason that a hare-brained European, and not a Chinese sage, was the man with a mission. Already our discoverers and inventors of the West have been voted plagiarists from Chinese antiquity, and Shakespeare cannot but follow the crowd at the bidding of Chinese higher criticism!

Confucius, being born 551 B.C., was a contemporary of Ezra the scribe, with whom he will be seen to have some points in common, his mission being to rebuild the national temple on the old foundations. With an ancestry marked by some scholarship, he was the son of a soldier, whose physique is described as exceptional. This somewhat austere worthy's second marriage took place when he was seventy years of age, and his death when his little son was three. There is a story told of the father of the bride proposing to all three of his daughters on the old warrior's behalf, and asking which of them would accept him. It was the younger daughter, perhaps the Cinderella of the family, who undertook to be thus wedded. She died when her son was twenty-four years old. And Confucius mourned for his mother for the orthodox period of three years. As a lad he was what we should term old-fashioned,

with no taste for ordinary child-play, but rather for the mimic performance of state ceremonial and the like. Gradually as he grew the principles behind the obeisance and the pageant loomed upon his mind, although for the ceremonies themselves he retained an unmistakable fondness all his days. His motto was not the name rather than the reality or the man without the robe, but the reality baptized with a name, the man clothed and not naked.

In a miniature autobiography he says :

At fifteen I had made up my mind to give myself to serious studies. At thirty I had formed my opinions and my judgment. At forty I had no doubts. At fifty I understood the decrees of Heaven. At sixty I could understand whatever I heard without exertion. At seventy I could follow whatever my heart desired without transgression (ii. 4).

He early developed a musical talent, and the mourning for his mother being ended, he travelled to the court of the Chou sovereigns, became impressed with its earlier ceremonial, and its present decadence in moral sway. Thence he paid a visit to the "venerable philosopher" (Lao-tzu, the Emerson of China), by whom he seems to have been snubbed for fussy antiquarianism ; although a distinguished musician of that time seems to have discovered "many marks of a sage" in the same young man of thirty. As also did various youths, for on his return to Lu, his scattered disciples are said to have amounted to three thousand.

He found the State of Lu in a condition of uproar, three powerful clans were holding their prince in terror, until the latter fled, and Confucius followed him. On returning, he remained in Lu for nineteen years, during the latter four of which (500-496) he held office as magistrate. In this capacity he proved the sterling nature of his principles by effecting a great reformation in the popular manners. Rising to the post of Minister of Crime, he made the office almost a sinecure, for "no offenders showed themselves."

On this latter and similar statements we may be disposed

to call for a dietetic *granum salis*. The popular feeling, however, which produced what Professor Legge terms "these indiscriminating eulogies," may be readily understood. "He became the idol of the people, and flew in songs through their mouths"; and pilgrims from afar assembled to behold the miracle of the age, an upright judge; until the balance of power among the states seemed threatened.

A neighbouring prince then adopted the old method of Balaam the son of Beor, and with only too great success. Government was neglected, and Confucius became a wanderer. He but visited Lu hereafter till the day that, as a saddened man of seventy-three, he laid him down there to die. Then did the prince who had neglected him mourn bitterly for him, finding

The virtue that possession would not show him
Whilst it was his.

Anon, through the centuries, a band of essayists appear, to celebrate his fame with "an indescribable loftiness of style, which resembles expression in music." And corpulent mandarindom has heaved a long-drawn sigh over the tomb of a sage and his teaching, whose epitaph is just the disyllable, "of course,"—that wide-world epitaph for buried worth and truth.

The teaching of Confucius may be gathered up under three heads: How to be men; how to treat men; how to rule men. And his whole philosophy may be summed up in the phrase: The Fulfilment of Relations. In the case of the individual this means bringing the life of thought, speech, and action into right relation with the conscience; in the case of social and national life, "Let the prince be a prince, and the public servant be a public servant. Let the father be a father, and let the son be a son, etc." (xii. 11). A view of the moral problem, this, which could hardly be excelled, and which nineteenth-century thought has only reached by tardy stages.

And here it is natural to inquire what superhuman Lord of the conscience, if any, did Confucius recognise? In the

documents which Confucius collated and ennobled into classics, we have an unfocussed Supreme (*Shang-ti*) more or less identified with heaven. And in not a few passages the term is followed by such personal verbs as "decreed," "scrutinised," "surveyed," "said"; which to our minds can only indicate a personal Deity, although, being chiefly found in the Book of Odes, the phraseology may be subject to a percentage of poetic licence. But in the still more ancient History Classic, we read of "The alone imperial *Shang-ti*, parent of the people," which seems to worthily parallel the Hebrew thought of those early ages. And the whole series suggests a survival of some primitive patriarchal revelation, marred, in some passages, by the canonisation of regal ancestors into almost equally adorable objects of worship, and the inclusion of various Nature-spirits in the popular pantheon. We are able to mark the down-grade from the earliest records to the days of Confucius, and it is only natural to suppose that such an incline was a continuation of a down-plane in the earlier centuries of which we have no records. In other words, that the original revelation which the Scriptures represent as granted to the godly was also the starting-point of China's down-grade theology.

The process up to date from the point at which we commence to watch it is that first we find an unfocussed God, as already described. Then later, in strange caricature of a verse in Genesis ii., it was not deemed good that God should be alone, and so a help-meet was found for Heaven—with which *Shang-ti* was now fully identified, and—in naïve disregard for the infinitude of the boundless Azure—Earth was chosen as that help-meet. The one was thus regarded as male, and the other as female; but comprehended together, the term Heaven-Earth commonly spelt Nature. To this, yet later generations added a "worker together with" Nature, in the person of Man, and made of the whole a divine triad. An article setting this forth as "our Confucian theology, complete without Western innovations," appeared in a leading native paper of Shanghai, 1899. *Shang-ti* was not so much as named, having been

proclaimed by imperial decree of a degenerate monarch (A.D. 1101-1126) to be identical with a lately deceased court juggler of the period !

Confucius came into the field at a stage of manifest decadence from that which produced the earlier Odes, but before the marriage of a divine Heaven and a literal Earth had been arranged. In his task of restoring ancient ideals he strangely omitted what we consider the most essential restoration of all. What theological convictions he had he held wrapped up in quotation commas, and refused to pass an opinion on their value. "You will never hear the master speak on metaphysics or theology" (v. 12). "Confucius always refused to talk of . . . supernatural beings" (vii. 20). On one occasion, when he was sick, a disciple asked that he would allow prayers to be offered for his recovery. "Is it the custom?" asked Confucius. And on chapter and verse being produced, he replied, "Ah, my prayer has been a long—lifelong one" (vii. 34). "Hold in awe and fear the Spiritual Powers of the Universe, while keeping aloof from irreverent familiarity with them" (v. 20) is the one theologic utterance of Confucius which bears the stamp of finality. And in this passage we may find the cause as well as the fact of his uncertainty, for the original phrase is "spirits and daemons"—ghosts of ancestors, naiads and dryads—with which he could not make up his mind to identify the Power of Absolute Right, which he acknowledged, enthroned in the heavens, as Lord of the conscience. But to that semi-personal Lord he ever appealed, although he was no theologian, and cannot (as Professor Giles reminds us) "be regarded as the founder of a 'religion' in the ordinary sense of the term." Confucianism is admirably described in Chinese as "instruction" (*chiao*, the word we have to use in translating *religion*)—instruction for the conscience; while the two other systems in China, which come under our term "religions," are marked by a worship in which there is not a trace of prayer for the rectification of the conscience, but just petitions for riches, sons, and longevity. The triple system is therefore comprehended in the formula :

Conscience apart from religion ; religion apart from conscience.

How to be men, that is the problem for those who aspire to rule men. And the whole course to the goal is mapped out in another fragment of Confucian discourse (*Great Learning*, i. 5), which we may translate :

Philosophical research is followed by insight ; insight when perfected leads to sincerity of purpose ; sincerity of purpose to rectitude of heart ; rectitude of heart to renovation of personal life ; renovation of personal life to the ruling of the household ; the ruling of the household to the ordering of the state ; and the ordering of the state to the tranquillity of the empire.

As to the initial wisdom required, Confucius classifies mankind as (1) those who are born with it, (2) those who learn it, (3) those who are dull but who strive after it, and (4) those who are dull and will not take any pains at all (*Analects*, xvi. 9). As a workaday method toward attainment, Confucius urges that "a good man who studies extensively into the arts and literature, and directs his studies with judgment and taste, is not likely to get into a wrong track" (vi. 25). But in these and other passages we have as an essential postulate, "a good man." And we naturally wish to ask what is his programme for ordinary human nature.

He replies, "If a man were really to exert himself for one single day to live a moral life, I do not believe he will find that he has not the strength to do it. At least I have never heard of such a case" (iv. 16). "Is moral life something remote or difficult? If a man will only wish to live a moral life, there and then his life becomes moral" (vii. 29). Which seems to suggest that human nature had changed wonderfully between the date of this utterance and the writing of Romans vii. ! But in at least two passages Confucius confesses the difficulty of the undertaking (vi. 20, xii. 3) ; and in at least five he disclaims the idea that he himself has touched his ideal ; but such confessions, in the minds of his worshippers, merely prove that the sage had completed the circle of ideal virtue by adding the *coup de grace* of modesty thereto.

Among general maxims we may quote the following: "Make conscientiousness and sincerity your first principles. Have no friends who are not as yourself. When you have bad habits, do not hesitate to change them" (i. 8, ix. 24). A disciple of Confucius once inquired, "Is there one word which may guide one in practice throughout the whole life?" Confucius answered, "The word charity [Legge, reciprocity] is perhaps the word. What you do not wish others to do unto you, do not unto them" (xv. 23). Which negative Golden Rule suggests a negative form of Philippians iv. 8. "Whatsoever things are contrary to the ideal of decency and good sense [Chinese, two characters, *im-proper*], do not look upon them . . . do not listen to them . . . do not utter them . . . do not act them" (xii. 2). And among things opposed to genuine character we find laziness (v. 9), strong passions (v. 10), cowardice veiled in austerity (xvii. 12), plausible speech and fine manners (i. 3).

Then, as introducing the subject, How to treat men, we find the sound maxim, "Make it a habit to assail your own vices and failings before you assail the vices and failings of others" (xii. 21). And as to the common neglect of this rule, "Alas! I do not see now a man who can see his own failing or is willing to bring a suit against himself before his own conscience" (v. 26).

But self-renovation and education are generally, in these pages, the preliminaries for ruling men. With us *magistrate* and *missionary* are entirely distinct terms; with Confucius they were practically identical. The man who had as his mission the ordering of the realm would naturally seek magistracy as his mission-station, and would teach others to seek it likewise; not as a reward of merit, but as a sphere for merit in action.

Confucius never contemplated what we call the "rise of the people," but rather the raising of capable men above the people. The "rise of the people" was regarded by him, and indeed is regarded by his followers to this day, as a violation of the patriarchal plan. The sage pleads for their "enrichment and education" (xiii. 9), but not for their initiation

into the laws (viii. 9), still less their participation in the affairs of state (viii. 14). In a word, the perfection of popular education is the attainment of filial piety toward the magistrate-parent. And from of old a proclamation issued from any higher than a county court, for the pacification of a given district, is sure to have contained the phrase, "The populace are all as (my) new-born babes, and are regarded with equal compassion"; such phraseology being regarded as ideal expressions of the relations of rulers and ruled, at any rate, from the ruler's standpoint.

That such a view of the case should have been early adopted by the Government need excite no wonder. It is as though Confucius had worded the vow of officialism, "to love, cherish, and be obeyed," with special emphasis on the last item. Nor is it surprising that such words as Edmund Desmoulins applies to France should also apply to China. He says, "Ask a hundred young men, just out of school, to what careers they are inclined; three-quarters of them will answer you that they are candidates for Government offices"—especially as in China the Civil Service means actual rulership over cities. An almost unsalaried rulership certainly, but one which will enrich the official with "perquisites" such as two-thirds of the taxes passing on to a higher court, and sundry "presents" from both plaintiff and defendant alike. Not that the candidates for such office are men with a mission inspired by Confucius. Their Confucianism is rather the hoary janitor standing at the portal of mandarindom, and only standing at all by reason of the two crutches *name* and *gain* which support him in his discrepitude. For a common adage has it, "If it were not for degrees, etc., who would study (Confucius)?" Thus fulfilling some words of the sage, "He never comes to see me except when there is urgent public business to be done" (vi. 12).

As Mozley says in one of his University Sermons :

The real virtues of one age become the spurious virtues of the next. . . . A standard once raised by the convulsive efforts of a fervent minority, a mass of lower character is equal to the

adoption of it ; but the originators of the standard are separated by an immeasurable distance from their successors.

And as a fact no more morally hopeless class exists in China to-day than the madarin-missionaries of the sage. And the system of starvation salaries, of absolutely necessary bribery and "squeeze" in which they are entangled, has been ever a chief factor in the wreck of manners and the crush of dynasties.

The nation has lasted under numerous modifications for the simple reasons that its millions of populace have lasted, and because there has been no nearer nation big enough to absorb China. Its "break-up" under rival rulerships has happened, for a while at least, not once, but often (A.D. 220-265 ; 317-340—partition by the Huns ; 386-589 ; 618 ; 907 ; 923 ; 936 ; 947 ; 951 ; 960 ; 1279 ; 1367 ; 1643). Changeless China ! It has changed mightily in political aspect every second or third century since the death of Confucius. But as a French statesman, quoted by Herbert Spencer, says, "Empires fall, ministries pass away, but the Bureaux remain." That is the one changeless element. And the body politic has writhed and struggled to dislocation point under the torture of cancerous mandarindom, until a pessimistic fatalism has become the "religion" of the populace to this day.

Yet has Confucius not utterly failed, for family ties have been strengthened, and the family so consolidated that it has become the unit, of which the individual is a mere fraction,—bound up in a bundle and thus preserved from much that is immoral.

He has not utterly failed, for all his disciples have not succeeded in grasping the poisoned coronet of corrupt officialism. Their failure has been his partial success, and their own partial enrichment. He has handed down to them a legacy of bank-notes drawn on the Bank of Human Nature, a half-broken bank certainly, and one which can but pay a percentage in the pound, yet can still pay that. And then the bank-notes themselves are veritable art

treasures, and, framed in ornate literary moulding, may be hung upon the walls of the memory, for the æsthetic education of their possessor.

Confucius once remarked, "How is it that men do not know that one cannot live except through the Way?" (vi. 15). And were that Way of Heaven to be manifest upon earth, and brought home to the Chinese heart in a divine yet homeful Word, accompanied by an infinite motive force of renovating and expansive energy for the conscience and the character, for domestic and national life, would not arrested development take a nobler start, and the true patriarchal economy be inaugurated under "the alone imperial Supreme, Parent of the people"? Nay, the beginnings of such a consummation are already apparent in the land, in a development so real that stoutest opposition cannot reverse it. And would not Confucius, dying in sadness, but more than once sighing a hope for the coming of Another to complete what he had begun, bow in fealty before the Perfecter of human relations, and own Him as Lord, even as China to this day owns Confucius to have been a sage indeed?

W. ARTHUR CORNABY.

The World of Books.

I. THEOLOGY AND APOLOGETICS.

The Body of Christ: an Inquiry into the Institution and Doctrine of Holy Communion. By Charles Gore, M.A., D.D. (London: John Murray. 5s.)

CANON GORE's book on the Eucharist—the title of which is not its best feature—is, he tells us, “the result of an attempt to clear up my own thoughts on eucharistic subjects in view of the ‘Round Table Conference’ to which I had been summoned by the late Bishop of London,” and he desires that it may “serve in some measure the object of that Conference—the promotion of mutual understanding and unity among Christians.” We believe that this end is likely to be furthered by the book—one of the fairest, most candid, and most spiritual treatises on the subject that we remember to have seen from the pen of any modern High Churchman. It is said that other members of Canon Gore's school are somewhat dismayed by its appearance; if so, we are sorry to hear it, for their own sakes, and for the sake of the Christian union which such an utterance as this is well calculated to promote.

Some of the chief points in the treatise are the following. Canon Gore disclaims the idea of any propitiatory value in the Sacrament of the Eucharist; the notion of sacrifice to be found in it attaches not to things but to persons. He hardly emphasises sufficiently the fact that in the earliest days the Church thought of the Eucharist not as a sacrifice, but as a feast following on a sacrifice; but he points out that so far as sacrifice is offered, it is the “human prayers and sacrifices which are by eucharistic oblation and consecration accepted at the heavenly altar and returned to the Church as the spiritual food of Christ's body and blood,” and that this idea, not that of the renewal of the sacrifice of the death of Christ, underlies all the language of the early liturgies.

On the subject of the presence of Christ in the Sacrament, whilst Canon Gore believes in a "real, objective presence," he insists very strongly that the presence is spiritual and "relative to the faith of the Church," presupposing holy persons to receive holy gifts. This differs but little from Hooker, though it goes somewhat beyond what is often called the "receptionist" view.

The tenor of Canon Gore's teaching condemns both non-communicating attendance and reservation of the Sacrament. This cannot be welcome to the extreme Anglo-Catholics of to-day, who are doing their best to mediævalise the Church of England. But the protest thus uttered by a staunch High Churchman is the more valuable and effective, because it is so moderate, so fair, and so thoroughly based on Scripture principle and the best "Catholic" teaching and usage. We welcome the book most heartily, for its tone and spirit and the influence it is likely to exert in many quarters. And we do this with the greater readiness because Canon Gore's views on the Eucharist are not our own. But a Christian teacher who is seeking to bring devout Christians who value the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper nearer together in mind, as they are already one in heart, deserves to be met in the spirit he himself displays, and we heartily commend the study of the book to our ministerial readers.

W. T. DAVISON.

The Philosophy of Religion in England and America. By Alfred Caldecott, D.D., Professor in King's College, London. (London: Methuen. 10s. 6d.)

This volume is nothing less than an encyclopædic reference-book on the subject in question. Its scope is limited in one sense, comprehensive in another,—in the former sense as only taking into view the grounds of theistic belief, in the latter as including all writers of importance in England and America who have treated of the subject. The method is first to divide Theists into different classes according to the underlying principle of their teaching, and then to enumerate and expound the views of writers in the different classes. The writer in his Preface has anticipated the twofold objection that may be raised, first against his classification and then against the names included in the several classes. A further question is whether it would not have been better to omit minor writers and give more attention to the leaders of thought. Certainly thirteen "types" of

thought are a formidable number. We can understand "Intuitionist Theism, Demonstrative, Transcendental, Ethical, Mystical," but "Social Theism, Theism of Feeling, Theism of Will, Personalism, Quasi-Theisms," are scarcely worthy of a separate place. Despite these defects, we get much valuable information about less known as well as well known writers. The "Demonstrative" is the more common school. The "Transcendental" covers such names as Caird, Green, Strong, Stirling, Royce; the "Intuitivist" or "Mystic" gives us Coleridge, Maurice, the Cambridge School Old and New, Westcott, Illingworth. Newman, Hort, Abbott, A. J. Mason are assigned to "Personalism"—a strange name. "Combined Speculative and Ethical" gives us Hooker, Berkeley, Butler, Bolingbroke, and others. Of the leading thinkers a fuller estimate is given, although here there is room for greater fulness still. Mr. A. J. Balfour is classed as "Quasi-Transcendentalist." Martineau with others come under a "Composite" type. "Revelation only" includes Bacon, Mansel, Dale, Bruce, Wace, and others. Some of the writers will find themselves in quite strange company. The work evidences thought as well as wide reading. The writer gives us his own estimate, not mere extracts; and his work will form a good introduction to detailed reading.

J. S. BANKS.

1. *Old and New Certainty of the Gospel*. A Sketch. By Alex. Robinson, M.A., B.D. (London: Williams & Norgate. 2s. 6d.)
2. *Doctrine and Principles: Popular Lectures on Primary Questions*. By C. E. Beeby, B.D., Vicar of Yardley Wood, Birmingham. (London: Williams & Norgate. 4s. 6d.)

1. These two works are very similar in spirit and aim. We had hoped that Mr. Robinson would have indicated the nature of the "New Certainty," but he does not. He has much to say against the "Old" certainty under the name of "Literalism" or "Bible and Creed Literalism," but there he stops. The substance of the work is a slight criticism of the entire history of biblical religion—Old Testament, Gospels, Paul, Early Christianity, the Middle Ages, the Reformation, Modern Days. What the point or aim of the review is does not

appear. The style is nebulous in the extreme. The best indication of the writer's position is the list of writers commended—Thomas Erskine, Macleod Campbell, Maurice, Kingsley, George Macdonald. Comparing the title with the contents of the book, we can only say that Certainty of any kind disappears altogether, and the Gospel too.

2. The second work is much abler. The writer's position is clear enough, and there is plenty of argument. His standpoint is evolution; and applied without check or modification, the destruction it works in old ideas is complete. Here again is no suggestion of reconstruction. The doctrines overthrown are Expiation, Sin and Original Sin, the Miraculous Birth, Christ's Bodily Resurrection. Why the writer pauses here it is hard to see. Every other religious doctrine would disappear under the same solvent. But the author needs to enlarge his field of vision. His data are too narrow and limited; his reasoning is too hard and mechanical. There are more things in heaven and earth than his philosophy has dreamed of. J. S. B.

Evangelical Doctrine—Bible Truth. By C. Anderson Scott, M.A. (London: Hodder & Stoughton. 6s.)

Mr. Scott's volume ably meets a distinct want. The work to which it is a reply, Mr. Sadler's *Church Doctrine—Bible Truth*, has too long had the field to itself. The latter writer knew well the English reverence for Scripture, and accordingly leaving the true ground of Anglo-Catholic or Catholic usage on one side he tried to find what evidence he could in Scripture alone. For this reason, as well as on account of the specious way in which the argument is presented, the work has answered its purpose on a large scale. The present work supplies a much-needed antidote. The hollow plausibilities of the other side are thoroughly exposed. While Mr. Scott is master of his subject, he does not load his pages with learned detail and reference. His style is clear and attractive, his reasoning strong, his tone courteous. Nearly all the English writers he quotes are Churchmen. The entire ground is sufficiently covered. All the central topics are discussed—the Two Sacraments, Catholic Unity, the Church Year, a Priestly Ministry, Apostolical Succession. The work hits the mean between the too much and too little. Well used, it must do incalculable good. We hope it will appear some day in cheap form for wider circulation. J. S. B.

Theism : A Survey of the Paths that lead to God. By John J. Tigert, LL.D. (Publishing House of M. E. Church South, Nashville, Tenn.)

Most students of the modern phases of Apologetics will count it a pleasure to tread these paths under the skilful guidance of Dr. Tigert. The fact that he keeps to them and resolutely refuses to be beguiled into the by-ways, so tempting to a philosophical writer, commends the volume also to the lay reader. The subject is treated mainly in the light of the history of philosophy. Compared with such treatises as Professor Flint's this is concise rather than exhaustive. The writer has a definite line. Believing that the unanimity of the testimony of philosophy to the theistic position has scarcely been accorded its proper weight, he seeks to point out how those engaged in interpreting the universe in its ultimate terms "have been led by many roads to a single terminus—God." Dr. Tigert began his career as a Professor of Moral Philosophy in the Vanderbilt University a thoroughly convinced naturalist realist of the Scottish school. Compelled with reluctance, and even stubborn resistance, to abandon position after position held by Sir W. Hamilton and his school of natural dualism, he was led, largely by the influence of Lotze, to his present position which he prefers to define as Objective-Idealism or Idealistic-Realism. The present work, the result of many years of fresh reading, is his effort to state and to defend his present attitude. He has felt especially the peril and hopelessness of the essential dualism of the Scottish school, in presence of the materialistic argument, in maintaining a satisfactory statement of philosophical theism. Opposition to this is his main thesis, and he argues with remarkable strength and lucidity against the separate existence of mind and matter. "All is mind." "The dependence of the world on mind is theism; of mind on matter is atheism. The absolute independence of each—its isolation from the other—is an impossible philosophical thesis." He regards a combination of the methods and results attained by Berkeley and Lotze, "treating Berkeley as the psychological complement of Lotze, and Lotze as the metaphysical complement of Berkeley, as the broadest and deepest foundation on which to build the wall that shall withstand the oncoming assault of a deadly materialism, fatal alike to knowledge, morals, and religion." In an interesting chapter he claims, and we think with much reason, Huxley as

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an unconfessed disciple of Berkeley rather than as belonging to the materialistic school with which he is commonly classed. The shades of Huxley and of the good bishop meeting and clasping hands in the other world would be an interesting spectacle. We have been greatly interested in the discussion of the weakness of the ontological argument of Anselm, and in the very able and clear exposition of the Cartesian argument, and its essential difference from Anselm's position, with which two of the earlier chapters deal. One of the most useful parts of Dr. Tigert's work is the discussion on the nature of final cause, and the careful discrimination between final and efficient causes. The failure to maintain this distinction is a source of endless confusion and misstatement. "The true alternative of design is not efficiency, but chance." "Chance, in its proper sense, is opposed not to the caused, but to the purposed." Dr. Tigert is startled by the theological confession that theism is indemonstrable. He takes serious objection to Calderwood's dictum, "The reality of the divine existence is a truth so plain that it needs no proof, as it is a truth so high that it admits of none." "I believe with all my heart," says the writer, "that the existence of God is demonstrable, and appeal to the gulf stream of philosophy in vindication of my conviction." Whether the readers of his book will agree with his final conclusion that the evidence for the existence of man—a finite, but free and rational spirit—is of the same kind and of the same cogency with the evidence for the existence of God, or not, they will be disposed to congratulate the author upon the qualities of substance and style he has devoted to his theme. Everywhere the style is forceful, and often picturesque. Illustrations are frequent, many of them fresh, and all of them illuminating. We have read the volume from beginning to end with unflinching interest and appreciation. It is a book for the times. FREDERIC PLATT.

A Short Introduction to the Literature of the Bible. By R. G. Moulton, M.A. (London: Isbister & Co. 3s. 6d.)

Readers of Professor Moulton's *Literary Study of the Bible* may naturally expect to find that this volume is a mere abridgment of the larger work. This is not, however, the case. The author has very wisely re-cast his material; and, while necessarily covering much the same ground, he has in this smaller work addressed the general reader and rendered most valuable

service in helping to make the Bible a more interesting book to many who would not be likely to master the technicalities of his former book. But the same mastery of the subject and skill in treatment which marked *The Literary Study of the Bible* are here fully displayed. We can think of nothing more suitable to interest young people in the Bible on its literary side than this small, compact, and admirably arranged volume. We heartily recommend it to ministers, to Bible-classes, and to Bible readers, both young and old.

W. T. D.

The Century Bible. "St. Matthew." Edited by Professor W. F. Slater, M.A. "St. Luke." Edited by Walter T. Adeney, M.A. (Edinburgh: T. C. & E. C. Jack. 2s. net.; leather 3s. net.)

The Century Bible is an edition of the books of Scripture based upon the same plan as that adopted for Standard Editions of the Classics. The dainty binding bespeaks a welcome for these little volumes, and the type and paper make them very pleasant to read. Each volume has been put into the hands of a competent critic, whose business it is to furnish ordinary readers with the results of modern scholarship in concise form. The Introductions to each book deal with questions of authorship, history, and characteristics. The Authorised Version is given in paragraphs, and the Revised Version with ample explanatory notes. Maps and index add greatly to the value of the work. Professor Slater's luminous account of the Synoptic Problem in his Introduction to St. Matthew is an excellent piece of work, and his notes are scholarly and suggestive. Professor Adeney's tribute to St. Luke's Gospel bears out Renan's verdict that it is "the most beautiful book that has ever been written." The notes are specially clear and helpful. *The Century Bible* is another evidence of the spirit of our times, and a substantial contribution to the Christian training of the community.

The Teachers' Commentary on the Gospel according to St. Matthew. By F. N. Peloubet, D.D. (Oxford University Press. 5s.)

Dr. Peloubet has had a quarter of a century's experience in preparing "Select Notes on the International Lessons," so that he knows exactly what helps teachers need in getting ready for

their classes. He arranges his matter in a striking way, and gives hints as to the lessons to be drawn from our Lord's life and teaching which will be of service to preachers as well as Sunday-school workers. The way in which the variations between the Authorised and Revised Versions are shown at a glance is most helpful. Every light that can be drawn from scholarship, literature, history, geography, and travel is brought to bear; maps and illustrations are given where necessary. The Commentary is intended to be popular, but the latest lights of scholarship and research have been sought, and the result is a book that can be used with confidence and that is packed with matter. It is the first volume of a Commentary on the New Testament, and contains 418 pages.

The Spiritual Experience of St. Paul. With Other Devotional Papers. By J. T. L. Maggs, B.A., D.D., Principal of the Wesleyan Theological College, Montreal. (London: Charles H. Kelly. 2s.)

We are glad to have Dr. Maggs on both sides of the Atlantic. He is lost to us for a time; but this little volume will not only serve his friends for remembrance, it will also widen his circle of influence. The papers are models of simple, graceful writing and true spiritual teaching. The aspects of St. Paul's inner life gleam forth like the facets of a diamond, yet we feel that after all the subject is unexhausted, and are drawn afresh to personal study of a life that is rich beyond words in spiritual insight and charm. The topics are well chosen, and are treated in a way that suggests and stimulates. The book will be a very welcome addition to the "Helps Heavenward" series.

In Remembrance of Me, which Dr. Davison prepared by direction of the Conference, has just been published as a twopenny booklet by Mr. Kelly. It will be a real help to the due observance of the Lord's Supper. The meaning of the service is set forth beautifully and tenderly, yet very simply, and its claims are brought home to the conscience. "It argues presumption as well as ingratitude for any man to slight an ordinance which Christ has appointed for His own honour, for the maintenance of Christian life in the believer, and for the welfare of the Church at large." The section entitled "Aids to Devout Communion" is full of wise counsels as to the spirit in which to approach the Lord's Table, and explanations of the Form of

Service which give a new and richer meaning to the familiar words. Christians both young and old will find the booklet a true means of grace. We hope that it will have a great circulation.

The Seven Deadly Sins. By James Stalker, D.D. (London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1s. 6d.)

Dr. Stalker's essays on the Seven Deadly Sins contain many timely hints for conduct, and touch some delicate subjects with much sagacity. The order followed is that indicated by the scholastic mnemonic Saligia, which is made up of the initial letters of Superbia, Avaritia, Luxuria, Invidia, Gula, Ira, Accidia. The subject is somewhat of a novelty in Protestant religious literature, and it is handled in a way that should provoke thought.

Hidden Wells of Comfort. By Louis Albert Banks, D.D. (London: Charles H. Kelly. 4s. 6d.)

These sermonettes are thoroughly American, brisk, bright, racy, full of anecdote, somewhat lacking in good taste, but effective and suggestive. The volume is a handsome one, and its good type and wide margins will make it very welcome to the aged and sick.

The Soul's Desires, by G. Washington Moon (Longmans, 1s. 6d.), is a book of private or family prayers for a week, with a helpful grouping of passages to bring out the teaching of the Bible on prayer. The selections of Scripture readings for each day is very happy, but we think the prayers far too long. There is quite enough matter for a month. Those who use the little book can select for themselves, and it forms a beautiful mosaic of Scripture passages for which devout people will be really grateful.

Messrs. Sampson, Low, & Co. publish two volumes—Genesis and Matthew—of *The Bible for the Young*, which is intended for schools and families. The lessons are well arranged, and such subjects as the Creation story and the doctrine of election are lucidly explained. The little shilling volumes ought to be of real service in the class-room and the nursery.

II. FOR BIBLE STUDENTS.

What is Christianity? By Adolf Harnack. Translated into English by T. Bailey Saunders. (London : Williams & Norgate. 10s. 6d.)

THESE brilliant lectures possess many elements of fascination. Delivered extempore by one of the most learned men in Europe, they possess a fire, a glow, and a contagious earnestness of spirit such as we have not been accustomed to associate with the typical German professor. They deal with the most important and living of all questions, in language which commends itself to the multitude of educated readers, not to a few elect scholars. The author says in his preface that "the theologians of every country only half discharge their duties if they think it enough to treat of the gospel in the recondite language of learning and bury it in scholarly folios." Professor Harnack accordingly has descended, if not into the market-place, at least into the open arena where men of all faiths and of no faith jostle one another. And then, in language marked always by verve and often by genuine eloquence, he pours out the faith that is in him concerning the value and significance of the Christian religion to-day. His audience in this country, as in his own, is sure to be large, especially as Mr. Bailey Saunders has translated the vigorous German into no less vigorous English.

What is more—the pith and core of this book is valuable. Harnack appears to be addressing those who for the most part have lost faith in Christianity, perhaps in religion. He remonstrates, pleads, and argues for the gospel as he understands it. And his definitions are impressive. "The Christian religion is something simple and sublime; it means one thing, and one thing only: Eternal life in the midst of time, by the strength and under the eyes of God." "Christianity," he says in another place, "as a gospel has only *one* aim—the finding of the living God, the finding of Him by every individual as *his* God, and as the source of strength and joy and peace." He admits much which the average German critic denies. He

admits that Jesus is the Son of God ; that the kingdom which He preached "is something supernatural, a gift from above, not a product of ordinary life" ; that it is a purely religious blessing and the most important experience a man can have, "permeating and dominating his whole existence, because sin is forgiven and misery banished." He admits, nay contends, that Christianity is a religion of redemption, and does not deny that in a sense the death of Christ was an expiatory sacrifice. Viewed as a trumpet-call to irreligious or sceptical students, these earnest and powerful lectures possess great interest and value.

Their deficiencies, however, from the point of Christianity as we understand it are most serious. In his critical dealing with authorities, Professor Harnack practically sets the Fourth Gospel on one side and deals somewhat unfairly by the Synoptists. The reasons for this are not discussed in these lectures, they must be sought elsewhere in the author's writings. But superficial readers are likely to be misled by the confident dogmatism which asserts that the author of the Fourth Gospel "acted with sovereign freedom, transposed events and put them in a strange light, drew up the discourses himself, and illustrated great thoughts by imaginary situations." The author of these lectures has himself acted with "sovereign freedom" in his treatment of authorities, putting events "in a strange light," and treating his materials in an arbitrary subjective fashion. For example, he considers it "a rude addition from a later age" that the Fourth Gospel, and it alone, makes Greeks to ask after Jesus—a statement which begs a whole host of questions. Again, Harnack's treatment of miracles, though it contains concessions which certain critics in the *Encyclopædia Biblica* would do well to ponder, is open to many objections. The Christology of the book, as might be expected, is removed far enough from that of the Apostles' Creed. Harnack does not believe in the Virgin birth of Christ, nor in His resurrection. Christ is Messiah, in a sense explained ; He is Son of God, as knowing the Father, but—the words are italicised in the original—"the gospel, as Jesus proclaimed it, has to do with the Father only and not with the Son." Jesus was called "Lord" by the early disciples simply because He had given His life for His cause, and they believed that He had been raised from death to the right hand of God. All subsequent dogmas concerning the Logos, the pre-existence of Christ, and His eternal sonship are additions to the original gospel, or rather corruptions of it.

We cannot pursue into further detail the very considerable divergences from orthodoxy which characterise the definition of Christianity given by the learned and eloquent corypheus of the Ritschlian school. The book must be reckoned with, in this country as in Germany. A large proportion of readers in Berlin will shrug their shoulders because Harnack believes too much, whilst here, we are glad to think, the great majority will regret that he believes so little. We at least are thankful that the voice of so influential a teacher should be heard speaking so decidedly in defence of religion and of Christianity as the author of these lectures understands it. But it might be shown, we think, without much difficulty, why one who goes thus far ought reasonably to go farther. Especially will the subject of the trustworthiness of the Gospels as historical authorities need to be discussed again with greater thoroughness than ever. It is to be hoped that orthodox English scholarship will address itself to this task without delay.

W. T. DAVISON.

The Tora of Moses. By W. W. Martin, formerly Professor of Hebrew, Vanderbilt University. (Publishing Office of M. E. Church South. One Dollar and a half.)

This volume seeks to counteract the tendencies of current Old Testament Criticism by presenting a new literary analysis of Deuteronomy. The author does not aim so much at finding flaws in the generally accepted analysis, as at undermining its whole structure. He claims to show that Deuteronomy is a composite book, made up by the commingling of two ancient copies of the Mosaic Tora. He names these J and E, and exhibits them side by side in parallel columns. Certain paragraphs of Deuteronomy find no place in the author's analysis. He considers that these are in the main essential parts of Exodus-Numbers, and apparently he would carry his twofold analysis of the Pentateuch through Genesis as well. Some indication of the way in which this might be done is given in the second chapter of this volume.

The attempt of Mr. Martin is a bold one, and his experiment is at least interesting and instructive as an illustration of other lines upon which the analysis of the Pentateuch might be carried out. The author admits inconsistencies, reduplications, contradictions, illogical arrangement, and other flaws which Higher Critics have found in Deuteronomy as a literary composition. But he thinks that his theory of two ancient copies of the Mosaic

Tora, both held in great veneration, which were "combined together for some sufficient reason," will account for the facts better than such analysis as is accepted, *e.g.*, by Dr. Driver. He has not convinced us of the adequacy of his theory, and we fear that at several points it breaks down. But the volume is a scholarly attempt at an alternative theory of the composition of Deuteronomy which is full of interest in its side issues and suggestions.

W. T. D.

Is Christ Infallible and the Bible True? By Hugh M'Intosh, M.A. (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 9s.)

We should venture to give a distinct answer in the affirmative to the important questions combined in the title of this treatise, without by any means following the method of argument by which the author assumes he has reached a similar affirmation. Mr. M'Intosh appears to be entirely satisfied to rely upon the method of proof that makes the explicit statements of the Scriptures themselves the surest evidence of their truthfulness and authority. He consequently makes little contribution to the solution of the very real difficulties that mark the present-day situation. What he says, and says with much vehemence, has been said before and often. His argument follows a method that might also be applied, in fact is consistently applied, to the Koran as to the Bible, and with equal success, as an evidence of divine authority. A witness cannot be regarded as infallibly truthful simply because he makes that claim for himself. Mr. M'Intosh moreover selects as his *locus classicus* 2 Timothy ii. 16, and lays the stress of his argument upon the clause in this passage which, to say the least, has a possible rendering that must to most readers vitiate the vital importance put upon it. If, however, it should be considered satisfactory that a writer on Inspiration to-day should rest his main thesis upon this rigid and somewhat ancient assumption, it may be admitted that the question Mr. M'Intosh proposes is argued with a good deal of cogency and with intense earnestness. The author is a valiant, if not a wise champion, for a position we strenuously desire to see maintained. But his treatise is distinctly a polemic, and lacks the accuracy and careful consideration of opposing facts and positions that such literature often exhibits. We are afraid also we must say that the writer's style is exceedingly verbose, and his invective frequent and unsparing, especially

for those who desire and profess to believe as he does, but who reverently give other, and, as we think, more satisfactory grounds for their belief in presence of the whole phenomena of the Scriptures. Notwithstanding the laborious logic of the writer it is not easy to define his real position. He has not wholly escaped the atmosphere of the times. Concessions are made to critical methods which would have disturbed those who in other days formulated his argument. He pins his faith, with expressions of eulogistic admiration, to the critical position of Dr. W. Robertson Smith, his old professor. He accepts the possibility of the legendary quality of the story of Adam and Eve, and the allegorical interpretation of Job, and holds also that the science of the Bible may be inaccurate and that the unhistorical is not necessarily untrue; he has no scruple as to modern theories of composition and such details as dates and authorship, yet he is prepared, though he does not think it necessary, to defend the theory of "absolute inerrancy." He makes much of an academic difference between "imperfection" and "erroneousness" in regard to the Bible. He does not appear to notice that his acknowledgment of the principles of the Kenosis doctrine may prejudice his insistence on the necessity of accepting our Lord's references to the authorship of the Psalms and the Pentateuch. Perhaps something of this confusion may be attributed to the inordinate length of the book—it runs to 664 pages, without the Appendix and Introduction. The setting forth also with manifold reiteration of the same arguments, proof texts, etc., in successive sections, to illustrate or enforce different points of view is a trifle wearisome. The treatise generally is lacking in perspective. In fact, the chief value of the book is, in our judgment, apart from its main position, found in the able marshalling of the mass and cumulative force of the general arguments for the truthfulness and authority of the Scriptures. Even those who dissent from Mr. Mcintosh's method will find many helps to a belief in the truthfulness, trustworthiness, and divine authority of the Holy Scriptures.

FREDERIC PLATT.

III. HISTORY.

The Great Company (1667-1871). Being a History of the Honourable Company of Merchants-Adventurers trading into Hudson's Bay. Compiled from the Company's Archives, from the Diplomatic Documents and State Papers of France and England, from the Narratives of Factors and Traders, and from many Accounts and Memoirs. By Beckles Willson. With an Introduction by Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal, Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company. With Numerous Portraits and a Map of the Territory. Two Volumes. (London : Smith, Elder, & Co. 18s.)

THE publishers of these well printed and well illustrated volumes have conferred a great boon on all who are interested in the development of the empire. We have here history in the making. Courage, endurance, enterprise, fierce struggle with inhospitable nature, the subjugation of wild races, the slow emergence of civil order, French intrigues, the jealousies of rival companies, civil war, the restlessness of lawless half-caste adventurers and half-savage hunters, the vicissitudes of the traders, the healing of strifes, and, at length, the incorporation of the illimitable wilderness with its oases of fertile lands and its vast resources within the Dominion of Canada—all this, and much more, finds exposition and illustration in Mr. Beckles Willson's book, which is a story of thrilling interest, of abundant romance, as well as of painstaking research.

The charter of the Company goes back to May 2, 1670, and remained in force for more than two centuries. Prince Rupert, the fiery cavalier, the rival of Blake on the high seas, the patron of art, science, invention, and commerce, never did so fine a thing as when he obtained from the "merry monarch" the document which bestowed on the fur-traders sovereign rights. And little did the heroic men, the pioneers in this enterprise, think, as they sailed from the Thames in the *Nonsuch*, a ketch

of fifty tons, that the future would reckon them among the founders of empire, the fathers of civilisation on the western continent. They were empowered by the charter to hold and alienate lands, to send out ships of war, to erect and fortify posts, to restrict the number of settlers, to declare war and make peace "with any prince or people not Christian." They were to monopolise the rights of trading in Hudson's Bay and the huge untraversed territory to the west and north-west.

They were not long in establishing themselves in these wilds and sending home the firstfruits of their enterprise. The first cargo of skins was landed in London in 1671, and the sale excited the greatest interest. It is said that Prince Rupert, the Duke of York, and the poet Dryden were among the audience that crowded Garraway's coffee-house where the furs were sold. This was the earliest of a series of transactions in furs in the city,—London becoming, from that day, for two centuries the centre of the fur trade of the world. In succeeding years, the Company's servants in Rupert's Land gradually extended the sphere of their operations, making long fatiguing journeys in order to reach Indian hunters of far distant tribes, and thus to increase the bulk of their trade. They crossed the Rocky Mountains and penetrated the country beyond into what is now known as British Columbia, they traversed the desolate Arctic coast, they entered Alaska, displaying everywhere fortitude and pluck of the highest character. They gave names—their own or those of their comrades and friends—to mountain ranges, to great lakes and rivers, to bays and islands, to such an extent that the map of British North America is a record of the heroism of the servants of the Company. Their fame is ineffaceably stamped on the natural features of the land, and will be remembered as long as rivers shall flow or mountains pierce the skies.

Wherever a white man could exist, they planted their foot; they surveyed large tracts of hitherto unknown country; they reared their forts and factories in the midst of the most savage Indians; and they won the confidence of these wild children of the forest by fair trading and humane treatment, and they did not demoralise them with strong drink. In exchange for furs, they gave arms, ammunition, trinkets, useful vessels, various articles of food, clothes, etc., but not intoxicating liquors. No doubt, amongst the numerous officers and servants of the Company there were black sheep, unworthy and unscrupulous men,

bent on gain, gross and cruel, who, violating the rules of the Company, corrupted the Indians with whom they came into contact. But it cannot be charged against these fur-traders, as a whole, that they were indifferent to the welfare of the Indians. They were not, of course, an evangelizing agency, but they certainly contributed towards the civilisation of their clients. The savages came to look upon the Great Company as the embodiment of all that was just and powerful; and the strength of the Company's rule was moral rather than physical. The Indian "knew that under its sway justice was secured to him; that if innocent he would be unharmed, that if guilty he would inevitably pay the penalty of his transgression. The prairie was wide, the forests were trackless, but in all those thousands of miles there came to be no haven for the horse-thief, the incendiary, the murderer, where he would be free, where he might elude or defy Nemesis." The wilds came to be safe. There was not a regular soldier in all the territory, and yet white men might hunt throughout the forests with almost absolute security. In the disturbances which from time to time troubled the Company, occasioned by French hunters, or by the half-breeds, the Indians could not in any numbers be induced to take up arms against the forces of law and order which the Company represented, though there were instances of Indian treachery.

Our space will not permit us to reproduce samples of the graphic pictures of Indian life, of hunting and journeying and trading which these volumes contain, but the work is a perfect gallery of such pictures. We have also some record of the work accomplished by great explorers like Hearne, the first white man to descend the Coppermine River to the Arctic Ocean; like Mackenzie, who followed to its mouth the majestic stream now bearing his name—a magnificent triumph, and who successfully carried out the still more difficult task of ascending the Peace River, crossing the Rocky Mountains, and sailing down the Fraser River to the Pacific; like Anderson and Steward, who, descending the Great Fish River to the sea, did so much to clear up the mystery of the fate of the Franklin expedition; like Thomas Simpson, the explorer who, after travelling on foot 1,200 miles and descending the Mackenzie, skirted in an open boat a wide strip of the Arctic coast; and like Verandrye, an earlier explorer of high degree, who was the first European to look on the eastern spurs of the Rockies. These are but a tithe of the men who, with more or less

encouragement from the Company, have added many pages to the annals of the victories which brave men have won over the stern forces of Nature.

In 1869 the Canadian Government acquired by purchase this vast country of 2,300,000 square miles, comprising Rupert's Land, the North-West Territory, and the fertile belt that lies between the Rocky Mountains and Lake Winnipeg and the Lake of the Woods, and is bounded on the north by Saskatchewan and on the south by the United States territory,—the fertile belt containing 300,000,000 acres of agricultural lands, capable of yielding support to 25,000,000 of people. The transaction was not completed without bloodshed. The Red River Community under Riel rose in rebellion, which, however, was easily quelled.

The Company exists no longer as a sovereign power, but its commercial ascendancy is as great as ever. It is still one of the greatest corporations in the world, and as a fur-trading concern has no equal. Its posts reach from stony Labrador to gold-bearing Alaska, and throughout this enormous region it controls the traffic with the aborigines. By its commanding influence it assists the Canadian authorities in maintaining order among the Redmen, and in working for their social advancement. "It feeds and clothes, amuses and interests nine-tenths of its subjects, from the Esquimaux tribes of Ungava to the Loucheaux at Fort Simpson, thousands of miles away." We have not succeeded in giving even the barest outline of these fascinating volumes; but lovers of adventures, of the life of brave aboriginal peoples fast fading from our planet, of the strife of strong men with immobile nature; and students of the growth out of chaos of ordered civilisation, and of the evolution of new homes in the West for the crowded populations of our great cities, will find here much to their taste.

R. McL.

A Picturesque History of Yorkshire. By J. S. Fletcher.
Three Volumes. With Six Hundred Illustrations.
Volume III. (London: J. M. Dent & Co. 7s. 6d. net.)

We gave some account of Mr. Fletcher's first two volumes in a recent article in this REVIEW, so that we have only to accompany him in the final stages of his delightful pilgrimage. It is twenty-one years since he first began to collect his material, and the

vastness of his task has grown upon him ever since. There is no county which presents such infinite variety as does Yorkshire in its three Ridings. The alternations in scenery, the contrasts between manufacturing centres and lonely dales and silent woodlands, are very impressive. Those who regard Yorkshire as a wilderness of coal-mines and manufactories have no conception of its picturesque beauty. Mr. Fletcher thinks that "if it lacks anything it is colour ; in all other respects it can claim equal rights with Devon or Westmorland, with Surrey or Warwickshire." The third volume find us at the lower region of the Derwent, the most interesting but least known of the water-ways of the county. No river in Yorkshire drains a land so richly stored with objects of antiquity. Roman and pre-Roman remains, ancient market towns, ruined abbeys such as Rievaulx, Kirkham, and Byland, great mansions like Castle Howard, add constant zest to the pilgrimage. Castle Howard is bewildering. It is a palace set in magnificent grounds and stocked with priceless pictures, antiques, tapestry, mosaics, and relics. The park covers a thousand acres, and the lake is eight acres in extent. It was at the obscure village of Foston-le-Clay, not far from Castle Howard, that Sydney Smith was rector for twenty years. He built a rectory, found a carpenter to make his furniture, and entertained here his old friends Macaulay, Brougham, Mackintosh, and Jeffrey. He served his flock with rare devotion, though the neighbouring Tory parsons found the bitter-tongued Whig far from congenial. Helmsley almost ranks with Richmond and Knaresborough for picturesqueness. Its delightful situation on the Rye, its castle, market-place, and church, and its grey roofs and gables framed in foliage, make a perfect picture. Duncombe Park, the seat of the Earl of Feversham, is just outside the town. Rievaulx Abbey stands on a shelf of ground overlooking the Rye in a singularly charming spot. Beverley, with its spacious market-place and roomy inns, comes as near perfection as a country town can do, whilst its two magnificent churches add dignity to the whole region. The Percy Tomb in the minster is perhaps the finest specimen of monumental architecture in Europe. The Yorkshire Wolds are comparatively little known to ordinary seekers after the picturesque. Their great charm consists in the splendid views to be had from the highest points, which rarely exceed an altitude of six hundred feet. They are seen at their best in harvest-time. Sedbergh prides itself on its Grammar School, which has been nurse to not a few men of

eminence; Bowes gave Dickens his Squeers and Dotheboys Hall; Rokeby is immortalised by Sir Walter Scott. Teesdale and the bold seacoast furnish material for some most interesting chapters. Mr. Fletcher points out the charms of the scenery and opens the store of legend and history so that his pages are rich in delights. Pictures abound, and are well chosen and well executed. We are sorry there is not another volume to a work which is a real treasure-house. Mr. Fletcher holds our attention from the first page to the last, and his book will win growing fame as one of the chief classics of Yorkshire.

Harrow. By J. F. Williams, M.A. With Forty-eight Illustrations. (London: Bell and Sons. 3s. 6d. net.)

This is a well arranged and thoroughly readable book. It opens with a few suggestive pages on the work of a public school, then it traces the history of Harrow from the days of its founder, John Lyon, to whom Queen Elizabeth granted a charter in 1571, up to the present time. The school was never so prosperous as it is to-day. There are three hundred and seventy boys on the classical side, one hundred and seventy on the modern side, and fifty who are preparing for the army examinations. Even an outsider gains a clear view of life at Harrow, with its teaching, its discipline, its sports and recreations, from these bright and well illustrated pages. Dean Vaughan did noble service to the school. "He was a pupil of Arnold, a man born to govern, at once tactful and energetic, gentle and firm, a great preacher, a scholar of very fine instinct, and in the best sense a man of the world." Under Dr. Welldon steps were taken to save the school from the encroachment of London. Since 1885 two hundred and twenty acres have been secured at a cost of ninety thousand pounds, and are held by the school or by a friendly trust. The history of Harrow is a fine record of wise and enlightened statesmanship as applied to public education. The results are the more impressive as the original endowments were scanty. The golden age of brilliant Harrovians was the headmastership of Dr. Drury, 1785-1805, who numbered five Prime Ministers among his pupils.

The Story of Rome. By Norwood Young. Illustrated by Nelly Erichsen. (London: Dent & Co. 3s. 6d. net.)

Mr. Young regards Rome "as by far the most interesting spot on earth," though much of the picturesqueness of Papal Rome

has been sacrificed to the needs of visitors and the claims of the capital of Italy. As we turn these pages the story unfolds from the days of Romulus and Remus up to the present moment. We see the triumphs of Pagan Rome—its sports, its religious ceremonies, its varied life ; amid these scenes we watch the rise of the Christian faith, with its touching record of martyrdom and burial in the catacombs, and its final victory over its persecutors. The story of the barbarian conquerors, of the mediæval popes, of Rienzi's day of power, and of the times when all the great artists of the day were pressed into the service of Leo X., is told with much skill. The book is a set of pictures of Rome in successive ages, but it is also a guide to the modern city, and even those who have never visited Rome will feel that Mr. Young makes it familiar ground. As the traveller looks over the panorama of Rome from the front of St. Pietro in Montorio, he is surprised at the general flatness of the city, not one of the seven hills being at first perceptible. "There is also a general impression of vastness and utilitarianism, of broad, barrack-like façades pierced with long lines of windows—the Palazzo Farnese, for instance, the Quirinal, and even the Basilica of St. Paolo Fuori, might be taken for hospitals or barns." The book is very brightly written, and Miss Erichsen has enriched it with a set of delightful illustrations. Tourists will find much information as to hotels, restaurants, churches, and other places of interest, and the plan drawn up for a sixteen days' visit will be exceedingly helpful.

We are glad to welcome a new edition of an old friend in *Scenes through the Battle Smoke*, by the Rev. Arthur Male (Kelly, 2s. 6d.). It gives a stirring account of the Afghan campaign of 1879 and of the Egyptian War of 1882, in which Mr. Male acted as chaplain. He has no small spice of the soldier in his composition, and was a general favourite with officers and men. The book gives a vivid account of the chaplain's work on the battle-field and among the sick and dying. It is a story which Methodism cannot allow to die, and young readers will be deeply interested in the unaffected record.

IV. BIOGRAPHY.

William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, and the Growth and Division of the British Empire, 1708—1778. By Walford Davis Green, M.P. (London : G. P. Putnam's Sons. 5s.)

THIS is a thoroughly sound piece of work, the worthy fruit of a rising statesman's leisure hours. There is no good biography of Lord Chatham, so that Mr. Green has found a field that needed to be occupied, and he has availed himself of a mass of correspondence and of the political memoirs in which the age of Walpole and Pitt is peculiarly rich. He has not only studied the man, but the period, and his book lights up the whole course of England's progress in the middle of the last century. Pitt's history has a two-fold interest. "If in the first period he made an empire, in the second he struggled to avert an empire's dissolution. It is this double aspect of his career as an imperial statesman which has given to his life a two-fold value in the study of imperial politics." When he first appeared in Parliament Pitt was strikingly handsome. He seemed born to rule, and his fine voice and dramatic gestures made a profound impression on the House of Commons. Lord Cobham said, "In a very short quarter of an hour he can persuade any man of anything." He was a poor man, yet when he was made Paymaster-General he refused the customary perquisites of that office in a way that impressed even George II. with his honesty. He attained supreme power in 1757, at a time when Chesterfield wrote, "Whoever is in, or whoever is out, I am sure we are undone both at home and abroad ; we are no longer a nation. I never yet saw so dreadful a prospect." Pitt had the fullest confidence in himself. "I believe that I can save this country, and that no one else can." Each success he won inspired him to more strenuous effort. He visibly grew in stature before the wondering eyes of the world, till his very name was an inspiration to every British soldier and sailor, and "no man entered his closet who did not come out of it a braver man." He became "identified with victory all over the world, and his strong will was sovereign over the military forces and political government of the country." In the memorable year in which Wolfe captured Quebec, Pitt told the House that "not a week had passed in the summer but had been a crisis in which he had not known whether he should be torn in pieces, or commended as he now

was by Mr. Beckford." Before he resigned in 1761 "Great Britain had been raised to the position of first nation in the world; from a condition of lethargy and confusion her army and navy had been urged to victory after victory in three continents and on every ocean." Those four years were the most glorious period of his life, but his handling of the Stamp Act and his bearing towards our American colonies do infinite honour to his judgment and temper. Had not his gout prostrated him at a critical period in the struggle the course of our history might have been altered. The closing chapter of this book, which deals with Lord Chatham's Personality and Historical Position, invites extended quotation, but space forbids. He had an instinctive sympathy with national feeling, "a definite mind, a strong will, an imperious nature, a fearless invective, an oratory that embellished his profound and passionate patriotism." "While the persuasive part of his speech was a kind of consummate conversation, expressed in sentences clear, simple, forceful, of an admirable rhythm, there were moments of sublimity and inspiration such as no other English orator has known, daring flights of imagination that held his audience with suspended breath." Mr. Green's book shows a statesman's grasp of a great subject, and is written in perfect taste and temper.

1. *Francis and Dominic, and the Mendicant Orders.* By John Herkless, D.D.
2. *Savonarola.* By George M'Hardy, D.D.
(Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 3s. each.)

1. This is a book that appeals strongly to students of religious zeal within the Church of Rome. Professor Herkless had to make it popular, but we should have liked some discussion of the chief authorities for the lives of these twin saints, and we do not think the literature of the subject should have been "thrown together" as it is in the list of books. The Introduction gives a glimpse of the chief actors on the ecclesiastical stage in the Middle Ages. Religion had lost its hold on the common people when the friars arose to stir it into life and strength. Pope Innocent was sagacious enough to recognise the service which they might render to the Church, and he enlisted an army of zealots in his service. The story of the early life, the conversion, and the labours of St. Francis has a never-fading charm, and it is pleasantly told in this volume. Dominic has none of the gentle grace of his brother of Assisi, but his policy was a masterstroke. His

trained preachers, skilled in debate, and equipped with ample knowledge, wrestled with the heretics of their time, and when argument failed were nothing loth to adopt sterner methods. The progress of the two orders, the service they rendered to Rome, and their pitiful decline and fall are sketched with learning and insight in this valuable history.

2. Dr. M'Hardy's *Savonarola* is based on the best lives of the Florentine reformer, and has caught the spirit of the age and of the man. The great friar preacher stands out from the sea of unrest and corruption in the city which was the very heart of Renaissance culture and pagan sensuousness. Even in youth he had no love for gaiety. The woes and corruptions of society pressed heavily on his spirit, and when he sought refuge in the cloister he discovered that he had not escaped the fester of vice and worldliness. His early preaching was a failure. He did not lack ardour, but his precipitate manner, harsh voice, and awkward gestures were all against him. How he found his power and kept Florence hanging on his words Dr. M'Hardy shows with much sympathetic discernment. The tragedy of the life and its abiding lessons are well brought out.

The Author of the "Peep of Day." Being the Life Story of Mrs. Mortimer. By her niece, Mrs. Meyer. (London : Religious Tract Society. 3s. 6d.)

This is an artless book which allows us to gain a homely familiarity with a good woman's history. Miss Bevan was in early life the spiritual counsellor of the future Cardinal Manning. Several of his letters are here given, showing how much he esteemed his old friend. Mrs. Mortimer seems to have felt that the time devoted to the Romanist prelate of the future might have been better spent. We are not disposed to agree with her, though it was no doubt mortifying to see him wander so far from the old paths. Her famous books were the outcome of Scripture teaching in the day school at Fosbury. *Peep of Day*, her "baby book" as she called it, was published in 1833, and it was followed by quite a library of similar volumes, which have enriched the nurseries of the world. In 1841 Miss Bevan married Mr. Mortimer, a clergyman who had a private chapel in Gray's Inn Road. She died in August, 1878, and rests in Sheringham Churchyard. This memorial deserves a place side by side with Mrs. Rundle Charles' *Our Seven Homes*, though it does not reach the poetic grace of that charming idyll.

V. BELLES LETTRES.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus: The Three Literary Letters.

The Greek Text edited with English Translation, Facsimile, Notes, Glossary, etc., by W. Rhys Roberts, Litt.D. (Cambridge: University Press. 9s.)

THIS edition of Dionysius is designed on the same plan as that of Longinus, published a couple of years ago. It is to be followed in due course by editions of Demetrius *De Elocutione* and of Aristotle's *Rhetoric*; and all of these are but preparatory to a History of Greek Literary Criticism, which Professor Roberts is contemplating and scholars are now sure to welcome. In his selection of three from the rhetorical works of Dionysius, the editor's judgment has not failed. The first letter to Ammæus discusses at some length the dates of several of the speeches of Demosthenes, and shows his literary independence of Aristotle. The third was addressed to the same correspondent, and is occupied almost entirely with criticisms of Thucydides. Of these two, the first appeals mainly in regard of interest to the historian, the other to the grammarian. Intermediate is a letter to Gnæus Pompeius, which, whilst mainly concerned with Plato, has much to say also of each of the five principal Greek historians. It is a fine specimen of temperate and sensible criticism, though there were evidently qualities in Plato which Dionysius was not keen enough to detect. These three letters occupy rather more than fifty pages of Greek; and opposite the text is printed a translation, in which Professor Roberts exhibits his well known accuracy and skill. There are very few points of detail that even captiousness could challenge, whilst the rendering is free from roughness and infelicity, modern in phrase and form, and yet correct in its representation of the meaning of the original. Prefixed to the letters is a biographical and critical essay on Dionysius, with a textual section of sufficient amplitude. Linguistic notes follow, with a series of indexes and a glossary of the chief rhetorical and grammatical terms. The whole book is a model of scholarship, and an admirable introduction of students, both of classics and of literature, to an author who has hitherto been little more than a name. Dionysius after a long residence in Rome died in the decade in which Christ was born; and it is quite possible that

the Greek he wrote will be found to contribute in some measure to the elucidation of several of the linguistic problems that still beset the New Testament.

R. W. Moss.

Sirius, and other Stories. By Ellen Thorneycroft Fowler.
(London : Hodder & Stoughton. 6s.)

Miss Fowler is as much at home in the difficult realm of the short story as in the longer novel. These stories are not all pleasant, and are certainly not all probable; but they all have point and power, and hold a reader's interest up to the last line. In *Poor Lady Leigh* the identification of a happy woman by a final sentence is very clever. *Her Heart's Desire* has perhaps the most subtle moral. "The fault lay—as it had lain all along—not in the man beside her, but in the woman inside her." *The King's Fool* is the perfection of pathos; whilst *A Miniature Moloch* is satire the most keen and relentless. Miss Fowler's characters are often rudely outspoken, but their talk is so sharp-edged and so brilliant that they compel attention. The world through which this volume takes us is a real one, though we wish we did not see the naked human heart quite so clearly.

Messrs. Macmillan send us three six-shilling stories which are ideal books for summer reading. *The Crisis*, by Winston Churchill, takes up the history of the Carvel family after an interval of two generations. Life in St. Louis on the eve of the Civil War is sketched with rare insight. Lincoln, Grant, and Sherman seem to climb to fame before our very eyes. We do not know any book that gets so close to the heart of a national crisis as this, and its love story is charming. As a study of American life and character it pleases us better even than the author's earlier book, *Richard Carvel*. *The Helmet of Navarre*, by Bertha Runkle, is as full of plots, duels, adventures as any French tale by Mr. Stanley Weyman. Young people will find it a very pleasant way to catch the essence of French history. The country boy who unmasks the villain of the story, Paul de Lorraine, is a model of heroic constancy, and we live in a state of excitement right to the end of the book. *Robert Annys, Poor Priest*, by Annie N. Meyer, carries us back to the days of Wyclif. Annys proves himself only mortal, but as we follow him on his preaching tours the life of England at the close of the fourteenth century lies before us like an open book. The scene is laid in Fenland, and Ely Cathedral and its large-hearted bishop, who

understands the need of the times and seeks to win Annys to his side, figure pleasantly in the story. The gloom of the picture is somewhat relieved by Matilda Westel's purity and devotion, and Annys comes back to her in the end.

The Silver Skull, by S. R. Crockett (Smith, Elder, & Co., 6s.), is the story of Richard Church's work in putting down the Red Terror in Apulia. Mr. Crockett spent much time in Italy as a boy, and has had access to private documents which have furnished special information about General Church. The result is a book full of local colour and historic truth. The opening scene—the murder of the Duke of Monte Leone and his mother by the Decisi—is intensely powerful, and the story of the little girl who escapes destruction that night and grows up among the brave Vardarelli is full of charm. The appearance of Church on the scene is dramatic, and his lieutenant, Walter Cameron, wins the heart of Isabella of the Vardarelli, who turns out to be the Duchess of Monte Leone. Mr. Crockett has never given us a story more true or more powerful.

A Cardinal and his Conscience, by Graham Hope (Smith, Elder, & Co., 6s.), describes the love of Charles, Cardinal de Lorraine, for a Huguenot girl, who is altogether ignorant of his rank. The proud prince of the Church marries Renée, but after two months of happiness she learns her husband's secret and returns to her brother's castle. The Guises are sketched with a master hand, and the intrigues of the Court, the discords at the Council of Trent, and the religious spirit of the time form a profoundly interesting study. Renée is a perfect woman, and Mr. Hope enlists our sympathy for the cardinal in his splendid isolation. He suffers bitterly for his sin against his Church. The book is a clever handling of a delicate question.

Mononia: A Love Story of "Forty-eight." By Justin M'Carthy. (London: Chatto & Windus. 6s.)

Mr. M'Carthy's heroine is so called from the old historic name of the province of Ulster. Her shiftless father, with his pride of ancestry and his out-at-heels morality, is a characteristic Irish study, as are Mononia's brother and her lover, who represent the patriotic ardour of young Ireland. Mononia herself is a fine girl, full of high spirit and good practical sense. As a love story the book is somewhat tedious, and the characters do not get hold of us; but it has its value as a picture of Irish life, and it no doubt largely represents Mr. M'Carthy's own experience.

Pauline, by Pansy (Kelly, 2s. 6d.), is the story of a young American lawyer who goes to lecture before a literary society. The secretary, absorbed in his approaching marriage, sends him a wrong date. Mr. Curtiss disappoints his audience, but finds a charming wife through the mistake. How Constance could be foolish enough to leave him on the morning after her wedding through the report of a former marriage passes an ordinary person's comprehension. She embitters three years of her husband's life, though they are both refined by their sorrow. The story is pleasant and high-toned despite its improbable plot.

The Songs of Alcæus. Memoir and Text, with Literal and Verse Translations, and Notes. By James S. Easby-Smith. (Washington: Lowdermilk & Co. Two dollars.)

This is an attempt to give English readers some idea of the genius of the Lesbian poet, who was a contemporary of Sappho and one of her rejected lovers. He does not reach Sappho's intense poetic spirit and soaring imagination, and most of his fragments might be described as drinking songs, yet Mr. Smith claims that the phrases quoted haphazard by grammarians, historians, and other writers "prove that the poet's mind soared far above the banquet table and far beyond petty political intrigues." "Fighting men are the city's fortress" is all that remains of what must have been a noble poem. Horace acknowledged that Alcæus had been his chief master. He was the Byron of his age, poet, soldier, traveller, aristocrat, and there is a strange interest in the voices that reach us across the gulf of twenty-five centuries. The volume sets one dreaming over a vanished world of love and ambition.

Ghost of Rosalys. By Charles Leonard Moore. (Philadelphia. One dollar.)

Mr. Moore has a gift of style and expression which will attract readers, but his subject is obscure, and he does not supply any notes to help busy people. Some of the passages have passion and imagination.

Dr. Garnett's beautiful translation from the Portuguese of Anthero de Quental is one of the gems of the fifth number of *The Thrush*. Mr. Ellis, the editor of this poetical miscellany, is an enthusiast for all that brightens life.

VI. MISCELLANEOUS.

1. *French Life in Town and Country.* By Hannah Lynch.
2. *German Life in Town and Country.* By W. H. Dawson.
(London : G. Newnes. 3s. 6d. net.)

1. MISS LYNCH is a Dublin lady who was trained at a convent school in France, and has for many years made a special study of the people and the country. Her book is packed with matter, and it is brightly written. Miss Lynch has formed her own opinions, and she does not fear to express them. She regards Mr. Bodley's great book on France as "a singularly pretentious work," which aims to prove "that what France wants is another Napoleon—the very thing that nearly ruined her"; yet she herself says that France is "pantingly waiting for the generalissimo of her dreams—another Boulanger, plumed, handsome, and haughty, on a black charger." This is practically Mr. Bodley's opinion. The peasant woman has won Miss Lynch's heart. She is implacably hard to herself, but a more competent woman does not exist anywhere. The women of the provinces, with their heavy figures and lack of taste in dress, are a great contrast to the ladies of Paris. The farmer washes his hands of politics. For the Jesuits Miss Lynch feels nothing but dislike. Convent education she has found to be bad everywhere, but it is nowhere so bad as in France. It is fatal to independence and candour. Nor are the nuns true friends of the poor. Their hearts "seem implacably steeled against human suffering." Light is thrown on every side of French life, on its politics, amusements, morals, and religion, in this singularly fresh and frank little book.

2. "German Life" is no new subject to Mr. Dawson, and he has handled it as only an expert could do. Germany has passed over entirely to industry and commerce, and many of her quaint towns are losing all their charm. The exclusiveness of the official and professional classes and of the military raises a kind of Chinese wall around them, and punctilious observance of titles is exacted. Military service, with its wholesome, stimulating discipline, is really a gain to the young men. Religious and educational arrangements are carefully described, and Mr. Dawson gives a full account of the home life, marriage customs, local government, and politics. Some of the illustrations are very attractive.

East London. By Walter Besant, M.A., F.S.A. With an Etching by Francis S. Walker, R.E., and Fifty-four Illustrations by Phil May, Joseph Pennell, and L. Raven Hill. (London : Chatto & Windus. 18s.)

Few men had so well earned the right to speak of East London as Sir Walter Besant, whose death has robbed our great city of one of its truest lovers and best friends. That gloomy region where life is so stern and unlovely long ago won his heart, and his readers soon catch some of his enthusiasm. He carries them round his kingdom, revealing it as the home of endless crafts that deal with the new-discovered wants of society and with recent inventions. East London is a city of the working-man, where the vast majority of the people labour at weekly wages for employers great or small. Sir Walter has made a special study of the factory girl and the errand boy. The boy certainly lives well and enjoys his life. "The Pool" and the riverside are little known to the ordinary Londoner, but Sir Walter brings out their varied and constantly changing interest in a way that ought to draw many visitors to the region. "The Tower" stands for all that is grimmest in English history, but Sir Walter prefers to linger over the life of to-day. His tone is distinctly hopeful. Wherever the better things are offered thousands accept them. His chapter on "The Helping Hand" is devoted to the army of workers seeking to lift up the masses. There has been a revolution in opinion as to the responsibility of the wealthier and better educated toward those below them, and it has borne noble fruit. Sir Walter says there is no more active clergy in the world than those of the Anglican Church, though he thinks "eloquence has passed from her pulpits to those of the Nonconformists." He pays ungrudging tribute to the Settlements that have done so much for the East End, and to the Salvation Army's Social work. The pages on Hackney are almost the best in the book, and it will surprise many to find how the region teems with Nonconformist associations.

The American Negro : What he Was, What he Is, and What he May Become. By William Hannibal Thomas. (London : Macmillan & Co. 7s. 6d. net.)

Mr. Thomas is himself a negro, but no judge could be more severe in his strictures on his own race. Laziness and sensuality, he holds, are the curse of his people. He paints them in the

blackest colours. "Soberly speaking, negro nature is so craven and sensuous in every fibre of its being that a negro manhood with decent respect for chaste womanhood does not exist." It is almost impossible, he asserts, to find a virtuous person among either sex over fifteen years of age. The negro ministry is very severely handled. Both pulpit and pew are "overshadowed by sensual indulgence." "Can it be truthfully denied," he asks, "that the great majority of the professedly religious negroes are visibly seamed and seared with carnal vices, or that falsehood, hypocrisy, pilfering, and drunkenness are but minor vibrations in an ascending gamut of 'saintly' turpitude?" The indictment is terrible, and though we believe that Mr. Thomas's language is overstrained there is enough left to give one pause. But there are good and true coloured people who are labouring to bring about a better state of things, and not without success. Mr. Thomas thinks that the negro may be reached and raised by his wonderful faculty for imitating his betters. He would teach industry, thrift, and chastity by establishing rural schools and putting land and education within the reach of indigent and illiterate freedmen. The book has already made a sensation, and the Washington Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church has entered a strong protest against it.

The Works of George Berkeley, D.D., formerly Bishop of Cloyne, including his Posthumous Works. With Prefaces, Annotations, Appendices, and an Account of his Life. By Alexander Campbell Fraser, Hon. D.C.L. In Four Volumes. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 24s.)

It is nearly forty years since Professor Fraser wrote an essay on "The Real World of Berkeley" for *Macmillan's Magazine*. This led to his being asked to prepare a complete edition of the great philosopher's works for the Clarendon Press. Of this and two of Professor Fraser's subsequent books dealing with Berkeley's philosophy more than twenty thousand copies have been sold in England and America. At the age of eighty-one Professor Fraser has been persuaded to undertake this new edition. He has availed himself of much material of biographical and philosophical interest that has come to light during the last thirty years, has rewritten most of the introductions and annotations, and prefixed a short account of the romantic life of the philosopher. The works have been arranged chronologically.

The first volume includes the philosophical writings of Berkeley's early life ; the second those of middle life ; the third those written in his later years. The miscellaneous works are given in the fourth volume. Berkeley's famous " Essay towards a new Theory of Vision " was published when the young Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, was only twenty-four. It was the subtlest piece of thinking that had yet appeared in our language. The world, he argued, as far as it is visible, is dependent on living mind. His teaching was at first received with neglect or ridicule, but when he visited London he made a profound impression. Atterbury said : " So much understanding, so much knowledge, so much innocence, and such humility, I did not think had been the portion of any but angels till I saw this gentleman." Berkeley is a profoundly religious philosopher. He teaches the absolute dependence of the world on Omnipresent Spirit. His works, Professor Fraser holds, " may encourage those who see in a reasonable *via media* between Omniscience and Nescience the true path of progress, under man's inevitable venture of reasonable faith." Everything has been done in this edition to assist students. The masterly Introduction and Notes represent almost a lifetime of research, and set Berkeley in his true place in the succession of English thinkers.

Domestic Service. By Lucy Maynard Salmon. Second Edition, with an Additional Chapter on Domestic Service in Europe. (London : Macmillan & Co. 7s. 6d.)

We are not sure that the method pursued in gathering information for this volume has been quite satisfactory, but the subject is a good one. Domestic service has been called " The great American question," and the chapters dealing with it during the colonial period and since contain many interesting glimpses of life across the Atlantic, whilst the difficulties of the employers, the advantages and disadvantages of the domestic servant are judiciously dealt with. The desire on the part of the servant for greater social and intellectual opportunities is most reasonable, though it is not easy to see how it can always be met in a private house, and this book really has nothing very striking to suggest in the way of reform, though it is a sensible and well informed discussion. The writer thinks that the difficulties of the question are not greater in America than in Europe, but that it is coming to be recognised as a part of the

great labour problem of the day, and as such is more seriously studied on the other side of the Atlantic.

Australasia : Old and New. By J. Grattan Gray. (London : Hodder & Stoughton. 7s. 6d.)

Mr. Gray has spent nearly forty years as a journalist in Australasia, and has almost an encyclopædic knowledge of the politics, the education, and the social life of the colonies. He is convinced that long before the century closes Australia will be an independent nation, politically and in all other respects, and seeks to give his readers some real insight into the conditions of life in what is destined to become the Greater Britain of the Southern World. At present she has no fleet or line of defence along her coasts, so that she is not able to stand alone. When she is strong enough to defend herself against foreign attack she will seek for national independence, and the leave-taking will be one of mutual friendliness and best wishes. The history of the discovery and settlement of Australia and New Zealand is told, interesting facts are given as to the native tribes and the whole course of colonial history ; but the real interest of the book lies in its chapters on Australia's capitals, government, and society. Sydney is enormously proud of its harbour, and the marine picnics are a delightful feature of the long spring, summer, and autumn months. The people are genuine patrons of the fine arts, and their hospitality is unstinted. The Larrikins are the terror of Melbourne and Sydney, and will knock down and rob anyone they meet without distinction of sex or age. The colonial girl is natural, vivacious, and companionable. Mr. Gray gives us a mass of information about New Zealand also. He knows his subject, and his book, though it has some patent defects and is somewhat undigested, will be of great service to all who wish to have the fullest and best information about our great colonies in the South.

The Life of the Bee. By Maurice Maeterlinck. Translated by Alfred Sutro. (London : George Allen. 5s. net.)

This book is the outcome of twenty years of bee-keeping, and probably comes as close to the mystery and marvel of the subject as any volume on apiculture that we possess. Maeterlinck is a poet and a philosopher, who tries to unveil to his readers a hidden world. His pictures of the duel between the rival

queens, of the tragic bridal that means death to the bridegroom, of the remorseless slaughter of the drones, and of all the stages in the life of the bee are very impressive, and we are never allowed to forget the lights on life and destiny which gleam from the wonders of the insect world.

The Cathedral Church of St. David's. By P. A. Robson, A.R.I.B.A. (London : Bell & Sons. 1s. 6d. net.)

St. David's Cathedral has a somewhat bald exterior, but this deficiency is counterbalanced by a superabundance of internal decoration. Its ceiling of Irish oak is exceedingly rich, and the elaborate work lavished on the interior takes away much of that heaviness which characterises most Norman naves. The east end is one of the finest pieces of Norman blending with Early English that we have in the kingdom. The chapels at the east end of the church are extraordinarily extensive. Bishop Vaughan's Chapel is a peculiarly subtle example of late Perpendicular, which won special praise from Professor Freeman. The Episcopal Palace, built by Bishop Gower (1328-47), is unsurpassed. This little book is written with much skill and knowledge. It is an admirable guide to a cathedral of unusual interest.

Before Marriage, and After ; being Homely Counsels on Courtship and Marriage. By Joseph Bush. Seventh Edition. (London : Charles H. Kelly. 1s.)

Mr. Bush handles his subject pleasantly and wisely, as hosts of happy people have discovered for themselves. It does one good to think of seven editions of such a guide for lovers and young married folk ! The little book is always bright, and will make every home happier and better where its counsels are followed. It is itself dressed in bridal attire, so that it is a very fitting wedding gift for a modest purse.

Star Atlas. With Explanatory Text by Dr. Hermann J. Klein. Translated by E. McClure, M.A. With Eighteen Maps by E. A. Funke, Leipsic. Third Edition, Revised and Enlarged. (London : Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. 10s.)

The new edition of this Standard Star Atlas has been carefully revised and considerably enlarged. All the objects discussed have been brought into their correct position for 1900, and the

number of objects described has been much increased. The text by Dr. Klein is a very clear and full introduction to the science of astronomy, and descriptions are given of the more interesting fixed stars, nebulae, and star clusters. The maps are works of art, and though crowded they are never obscure. Mr. McClure is to be congratulated on a piece of work that will be of the greatest service to all students of the heavens.

Palestine in Geography and in History. By Arthur William Cooke, M.A. With Topographical Index and Maps. Vol. II. (London : Charles H. Kelly. 2s. 6d.)

The second volume of Mr. Cooke's handbook deals with Jerusalem, the Maritime Plain, Bashan, Gilead, and Moab. The history is interwoven with the geography, and all is so clear and so interesting, so reliable and so compact, that the work is bound to be of very great value to Bible students. The best authorities have been consulted, and the book is full of interest from beginning to end.

The Literary Year-Book for 1901 (London : George Allen, 3s. 6d.) shows a marked advance on the previous volumes. Its lists of writers, publishers, booksellers, and periodicals are more complete. It contains information which every penman will be glad to have at hand, and bids fair to make itself indispensable for authors and publishers. Mr. Morrah has edited the volume with much judgment and real insight into the needs of his constituents.

Messrs. Gall & Inglis have issued *The "Royal" Road-Book of England*, with three hundred contour plans, and a most ingeniously folded cyclists' map, for one shilling. It gives all the best main thoroughfares, and is so compact and exact that it will be a treasure indeed for every bicyclist.

Mr. Kelly has published a penny booklet on *The Financial Arrangements of Methodism*, by the Rev. John Angus, which ought not to be overlooked by those who wish to show young Methodists the claims of their own Church to their hearty loyalty. It is a good thing, and it can be made much better by adding further facts and figures. The Chapel Committee's last report would furnish material for the section given to that subject, and the other matter might be condensed ; but the idea is excellent, and Mr. Angus has made a good beginning.

VII. SUMMARY OF FOREIGN REVIEWS.

METHODIST REVIEW (March-April).—The first article is on Dr. Charles H. Payne, who was Corresponding Secretary of the Board of Education in the Methodist Episcopal Church. He had a clear grasp of the educational problem, and did much to co-ordinate the work of Methodist schools and colleges, to raise their standard, and to launch the great twentieth century effort to raise funds for educational work. Dr. Mudge discusses "Keswick and its Teaching." He thinks that America ought to have such a gathering, "where, without sensationalism or fanaticism, those who have a definite experience of full salvation and a clear grasp of divine truth concerning it, can, as at Keswick, instruct such as are eager to obtain."

(May-June).—Bishop Hurst, in his paper on "The Counter-Reformation," describes Carlo Borromeo as the consummate flower of that movement. "He was embodied purity, unworldliness, heavenly-mindedness, benevolence toward all men, high and low. In the time of a great plague he wore himself out in offices of love, and died at forty-six." Dr. W. H. Meredith, of Boston, who is one of the best Methodist historians and antiquarians on the other side of the Atlantic, writes a valuable paper on "John Wesley, Christian Socialist," which shows by many extracts from the *Journals* that our Founder sought to reform society by first securing the regeneration of the individual. "His idea was that the very best way to change a man's environment is to change his moral condition. Christianise him, and his social life will be Christianised."

METHODIST REVIEW, SOUTH (March-April).—Dr. Parsons writes an interesting paper on "Religious Progress in Victorian England," and Bishop Hendrix tells the story of Wesley's life in Savannah. This is a number full of varied interest.

THE IMPERIAL REVIEW (No. 33) has some notes on Australian Churches and ministers. One of its staff who has been listening to many sermons in Melbourne says that the Wesleyan Church is nearest to his heart. "Yet," he adds, "how little we have heard of genuine Methodist preaching, fiery and vigorous, inspired by triumphant faith, with plenty of blood and bone, and sinew directly aimed at the salvation of sinners and sanctification of believers." His comments on all Churches are very outspoken.

CORNHILL still holds its own as the best of our English magazines. The tenth volume contains a delightful set of "Blackstick Papers" by Mrs. Richmond Ritchie; Mr. Fitchett's thrilling chronicle of the Indian Mutiny; Mr. Stanley Weyman's powerful story of St. Bartholomew, and shorter stories and articles which have the mark of distinction. Messrs. Smith, Elder, & Co. have reason to be proud of their editor and his staff of contributors.

